

THE
WORKS
OF
WALTER SCOTT, ESQ.

VOL. IX.

THE LORD OF THE ISLES.

P. II.

~~~~~  
ZWICKAU,

PRINTED FOR BROTHERS SCHUMANN.

1821.

(5)



THE

W O R L D

OF

WALTER SCOTT, ESQ.

Vol. IX.

THE LORD OF THE CASTLE

P. H.

BLACK & CO.

Printed by J. Ballantyne, Edinburgh.

1831



## NOTES.



NOTES



## NOTES TO CANTO FIRST.

### Note I.

Thy rugged halls, Artornish, rung.

St. I. p. 6.

THE ruins of the castle of Artornish are situated upon a promontory, on the Morven, or mainland side of the Sound of Mull, a name given to the deep arm of the sea, which divides that island from the continent. The situation is wild and romantic in the highest degree, having on the one hand a high and precipitous chain of rocks overhanging the sea, and on the other the narrow entrance to the beautiful salt-water lake, called Loch-Alline, which is in many places finely fringed with copse-wood. The ruins of Artornish are not now very considerable, and consist chiefly of the remains of an old keep, or tower, with



fragments of outward defences. But, in former days, it was a place of great consequence, being one of the principal strong-holds which the Lords of the Isles, during the period of their stormy independence, possessed upon the mainland of Argyleshire. Here they assembled what popular tradition calls their parliaments, meaning, I suppose, their *cour pleniere*, or assembly of feudal and patriarchal vassals and dependants. From this castle of Astornish, upon the 19th day of October, 1461, John de Yle, designing himself Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, granted, in the style of an independent sovereign, a commission to his trusty and well-beloved cousins, Ronald of the Isles, and Duncan, Arch-Dean of the Isles, for empowering them to enter into a treaty with the most excellent Prince Edward, by the grace of God, King of France and England, and Lord of Ireland. Edward IV., on his part, named Laurence Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Worcester, the Prior of St John's, Lord Wenlock, and Mr Robert Stillington, keeper of the privy seal, his deputies and commissioners, to confer with those named by the Lord of the Isles. The conference terminated in a treaty, by which the Lord of the Isles agreed to become a vassal to the crown of England, and to assist Edward IV. and James Earl of Douglas, then in banishment, in subduing the realm of Scotland.



The first article provides, that John de Isle, Earl of Ross, with his son Donald Balloch, and his grandson John de Isle, with all their subjects, men, people, and inhabitants, become vassals and liegemen to Edward IV. of England, and assist him in his wars in Scotland or Ireland; and then follow the allowances to be made to the Lord of the Isles, in recompense of his military service, and the provisions for dividing such conquests as their united arms should make upon the mainland of Scotland among the confederates. These appear such curious illustrations of the period, that they are here subjoined:

«Item, The seid John Erle of Rosse shall, from the seid fest of Whittesontyde next comyng, yerely, duryng, his lyf, have and take, for fees and wages in tyme of peas, of the seid most high and Christien prince c. marc sterlyng of Englysh money; and in tyme of werre, as long as he shall entende with his myght and power in the said werres, in manner and fourme abovesaid, he shall have wages of cc. lb. sterlyng of English money yearly; and after the rate of the tyme that he shall be occupied in the seid werres.

«Item, The seid Donald shall, from the seid feste of Whittesontide, have and take, during his lyf, yerly, in tyme of peas, for his fees and wages, xx l. sterlyng of Englysh money; and, when he shall be occupied and intend to the



werre, with his myght and power, and in manner and fourme abovesaid, he shall have and take, for his wages yearly, xli. sterlynge of Englysh money; or for the rate of the tyme of werre —

«Item, The seid John, sonn and heire apparant of the said Donald, shall have and take, yerely, from the seid fest, for his fees and wages, in the tyme of peas, xl. sterlynges of Englysh money; and for tyme of werre, and his intending thereto, in manner and fourme abovesaid, he shall have, for his fees and wages, yearly xli. sterlynges of Englysh money; or after the rate of the tyme that he shall be occupied in the werre: And the seid John, th' Erle Donald and John, and eche of them, shall have good and sufficiant paiment of the seid fees and wages, as wel for tyme of peas as of werre, accordyng to thees articles and appoyntements. Item, it is appointed, accorded, concluded, and finally determined, that, if it so be that hereafter the seid reaume of Scotlande, or the more part thereof, be conquered, subdued, and brought to the obeissance of the seid most high and Christien prince, and his heires, or successoures, of the seid Lionell, in fourme abovesaid descendyng, be the assistance, helpe, and aide of the seid John Erle of Rosse, and Donald, and of James Erle of Douglas, then, the seid fees and wages for the tyme of peas cessyng, the same erles and Donald



shall have, by the graunte of the same most Christien prince, all the possessions of the seid reaume beyonde Scottishe see, they to be departed equally betwix them: eche of them, his heires and successours, to holde his parte of the seid most Christien prince, his heires, and successours, for evermore, in right of his croune of England, by homage and feaute to be done therefore.

«Item, If so be that, by th' aide and assistance of the seid James Erle of Douglas, the seid reaume of Scotlande be conquered and subdued as above, then he shall have, enjoie, and inherite all his own possessions, landes, and inheritance, on this syde the said Scottish see; that is to saye, betwixt the seid Scottishe see and Englande, such he hath rejoiced and be possessed of before this; there to holde them of the seid most high and Christien prince, his heires, and successours, as is abovesaid, for evermore, in right of the coroune of Englonde, as weel the seid Erle of Douglas, as his heires and successours, by homage and feaute to be done therefore.» — RYMER'S *Foedera Conventiones Litteræ et cujuscunque generis Acta Publica*, Fol. vol. V., 1741.

Such was the treaty of Artornish; but it does not appear that the allies ever made any very active effort to realize their ambitious designs. It



will serve to show both the power of these reguli, and their independence upon the crown of Scotland.

It is only farther necessary to say of the castle of Artornish, that it is almost opposite to the bay of Aros, in the island of Mull, where there was another castle, the occasional residence of the Lord of the Isles.

### N o t e II.

Rude Heiskar's seal through surges dark  
Will long pursue the Minstrel's bark.

St. II. p. 7.

The seal displays a taste for music, which could scarcely be expected from his habits and local predilections. They will long follow a boat in which any musical instrument is played, and even a tune simply whistled has attractions for them. The Dean of the Isles says of Heiskar, a small uninhabited rock, about twelve (Scottish) miles from the isle of Uist, that an infinite slaughter of seals takes place there.

### N o t e III.

— dark Mull! thy mighty Sound. — St. VII. p. 11.

The Sound of Mull, which divides that is—



land from the continent of Scotland, is one of the most striking scenes which the Hebrides afford to the traveller. Sailing from Oban to Aros, or Tobermory, through a narrow channel, yet deep enough to bear vessels of the largest burthen, he has on his left the bold and mountainous shores of Mull; on the right those of that district of Argyleshire, called Morven, or Morvern, successively indented by deep salt-water lochs, running up many miles inland. To the south-eastward arise a prodigious range of mountains, among which Cruachan Ben is pre-eminent. And to the north-east is the no less huge and picturesque range of the Ardnamurchan hills. Many ruinous castles, situated generally upon cliffs overhanging the ocean, add interest to the scene. Those of Dunolly and Dunstaffnage are first passed, then that of Duart, formerly belonging to the chief of the warlike and powerful sept of Macleans, and the scene of Miss Ballie's beautiful tragedy, entitled the Family Legend. Still passing on to the northward, Artornish and Aros become visible upon the opposite shores; and, lastly, Mingarry, and other ruins of less distinguished note. In fine weather, a grander and more impressive scene, both from its natural beauties, and associations with ancient history and tradition, can hardly be imagined. When the weather is rough, the



passage is both difficult and dangerous, from the narrowness of the channel, and in part from the number of inland lakes, out of which sally forth a number of conflicting and thwarting tides, making the navigation perilous to open boats. The sudden flaws and gusts of wind which issue without a moment's warning from the mountain glens, are equally formidable. So that in unsettled weather, a stranger, if not much accustomed to the sea, may sometimes add to the other sublime sensations excited by the scene, that feeling of dignity which arises from a sense of danger.

#### N o t e IV.

From Hirt —

To the green Ilay's fertile shore.

St. VIII. p. 11.

The number of the western isles of Scotland exceeds two hundred, of which St-Kilda is the most northerly, anciently called Hirth, or Hirt, probably from "earth," being in fact the whole globe to its inhabitants. Ilay, which now belongs almost entirely to Walter Campbell, Esq. of Shawfield, is by far the most fertile of the Hebrides, and has been greatly improved under the spirited and sagacious management of the



present proprietor. This was in ancient times the principal abode of the Lords of the Isles, being, if not the largest, the most important island of their archipelago. In Martin's time, some reliques of their grandeur were yet extant. «Loch-Finlagan, about three miles in circumference, affords salmon, trouts, and eels: this lake lies in the centre of the isle. The isle Finlagan, from which this lake hath its name, is in it. It's famous for being once the court in which the great Mack-Donald, King of the Isles, had his residence; his houses, chapel, etc. are now ruinous. His guards de corps, called Lucht-tach, kept guard on the lakeside nearest to the isle; the walls of their houses are still to be seen there. The high court of judicature, consisting of fourteen, sat always here; and there was an appeal to them from all the courts in the isles: the eleventh share of the sum in debate was due to the principal judge. There was a big stone of seven foot square, in which there was a deep impression made to receive the feet of Mac-Donald; for he was crowned King of the Isles standing in this stone, and swore that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands, and do exact justice to all his subjects: and then his father's sword was put into his hand. The Bishop of Arygle and seven priests anointed him king, in presence of all the heads of the tribes in the



isles and continent, and were his vassals; at which time the orator rehearsed a catalogue of his ancestors, etc." — MARTIN'S Account of the Western Isles, octavo, London, 1716, p. 240, 1.

### NOTE V.

—— Mingarry sternly placed,  
O'erawes the woodland and the waste.

St. VIII. p. 11.

The castle of Mingarry is situated on the sea-coast of the district of Ardnamurchan. The ruins, which are tolerably entire, are surrounded by a very high wall, forming a kind of polygon, for the purpose of adapting itself to the projecting angles of a precipice overhanging the sea, on which the castle stands. It was anciently the residence of the Mac-lans, a clan of Mac-Donalds, descended from Ian, or John, a grandson of Angus Og, Lord of the Isles. The last time that Mingarry was of military importance, occurs in the celebrated Leabhar dearg, or Red-book of Clanronald, a MS. renowned in the Ossianic controversy. Allaster Mac-Donald, commonly called Colquitto, who commanded the Irish auxiliaries, sent over by the Earl of Antrim during the great civil war to the assistance of Montrose, began his enterprise in 1644, by taking the castles of



Kinloch-Alline, and Mingarry, the last of which made considerable resistance, as might, from the strength of the situation, be expected. In the meanwhile, Allaster Mac-Donald's ships which had brought him over, were attacked in Loch Eisord, in Skye, by an armament sent round by the covenanting parliament, and his own vessel was taken. This circumstance is said chiefly to have induced him to continue in Scotland, where there seemed little prospect of raising an army in behalf of the king. He had no sooner moved eastward to join Montrose, a junction which he effected in the braes of Athole, than the Marquis of Argyle besieged the castle of Mingarry, but without success. Among other warriors and chiefs whom Argyle summoned to his camp to assist upon this occasion, was John of Moidart, the Captain of Clanronald. Clanronald appeared; but, far from yielding effectual assistance to Argyle, he took the opportunity of being in arms to lay waste the district of Sunart, then belonging to the adherents of Argyle, and sent part of the spoil to relieve the castle of Mingarry. Thus the castle was maintained until relieved by Allaster Mac-Donald (Colquitto), who had been detached for the purpose by Montrose. These particulars are hardly worth mentioning, were they not con-



connected with the memorable successes of Montrose, related by an eye-witness, and hitherto unknown to Scottish historians.

#### Note VI.

##### The Heir of mighty Somerled.

St. VIII. p. 12.

Somerled was thane of Argyle and Lord of the Isles, about the middle of the twelfth century. He seems to have exercised his authority in both capacities, independent of the crown of Scotland, against which he often stood in hostility. He made various incursions upon the western lowlands during the reign of Malcolm IV., and seems to have made peace with him upon the terms of an independent prince, about the year 1157. In 1164, he resumed the war against Malcolm, and invaded Scotland with a large, but probably a tumultuary army collected in the isles, in the mainland of Argyleshire, and in the neighbouring provinces of Ireland. He was defeated and slain in an engagement with a very inferior force, near Renfrew. His son Gillicolane fell in the same battle. This mighty chieftain married a daughter of Olaus, King of Man. From him our genealogists deduce two dynasties, distinguished in the stormy history of



the middle ages; the Lords of the Isles descended from his elder son Ronald, and the Lords of Lorn, who took their surname of M'Dougal, as descended of his second son Dougal. That Somerled's territories upon the main-land, and upon the islands, should have been thus divided between his two sons, instead of passing to the elder exclusively, may illustrate the uncertainty of descent among the great Highland families, which we shall presently notice.

#### NOTE VII.

Lord of the Isles. — St. VIII. p. 12.

The representative of this independent principality, for such it seems to have been, though acknowledging occasionally the pre-eminence of the Scottish crown, was, at the period of the poem, Angus, called Angus Og; but the name has been, *euphoniæ gratia*, exchanged for that of Ronald, which frequently occurs in the genealogy. Angus was a protector of Robert Bruce, whom he received in his castle of Dunnavearty, during the time of his greatest distress. As I shall be equally liable to censure for attempting to decide a controversy which has long existed between three distinguished chieftains of this family, who have long disputed the repre-



sentation of the Lord of the Isles, or for leaving a question of such importance altogether untouched, I chuse, in the first place, to give such information as I have been able to derive from Highland genealogists, and which, for those who have patience to investigate such subjects, really contains some curious information concerning the history of the Isles. In the second place, I shall offer a few remarks upon the rules of succession at that period, without pretending to decide their bearing upon the question at issue, which must depend upon evidence which I have had no opportunity to examine.

“Angus Og,” says an ancient manuscript translated from the Gaelic, “son of Angus Mor, son of Donald, son of Ronald, son of Somerled, high chief and superior Lord of Innisgall, (or the Isles of the Gael, the general name given to the Hebrides,) he married a daughter of Cunbui, namely, Cathan; she was mother to John, son of Angus, and with her came an unusual portion from Ireland, viz. twenty-four clans, of whom twenty-four families in Scotland are descended. Angus had another son, namely, young John Fraoch, whose descendants are called Clan-Ean of Glencoe, and the M'Donalds of Fraoch. This Angus Og died in Isla, where his body was interred, his son John suc-



ceeded to the inheritance of Inisgall. He had good descendants, namely, three sons procreate of Ann, daughter of Rodric, high chief of Lorn, and one daughter, Mary, married to John Maclean, Laird of Duart, and Lauchlan, his brother, Laird of Coll; she was interred in the church of the Black Nuns. The eldest sons of John were Ronald, Godfrey, and Angus. - - - - - He gave Ronald a great inheritance. These were the lands which he gave him, viz. from Kilcumin in Abertarf to the river Seil, and from thence to Beilli, north of Eig and Rum, and the two Uists, and from thence to the foot of the river Glaichan, and threescore long ships. John married afterwards Margaret Stewart, daughter to Robert Stewart, King of Scotland, called John Fernyear; she bore him three good sons, Donald of the Isles, the heir, John the Tainister, (i. e. Thane,) the second son, and Alexander Carrach. John had another son called Marcus, of whom the clan Macdonald of Cnoc, in Tirowen, are descended. This John lived long, and made donations to Icolumnkilt, he covered the chapel of Eorsay-Elan, the chapel of Finlagam, and the chapel of the Isle of Tsuibhne, and gave the proper furniture for the service of God, upholding the clergy and monks; he built or repaired the church of the Holy Cross immediately before his death. He died



at his own castle of Ardtorinish, many priests and monks took the sacrament at his funeral, and they embalmed the body of this dear man, and brought it to Icolmkill; the abbot, monks, and vicar, came as they ought to meet the King of Fiongal, \*) and out of great respect to his memory mourned eight days and nights over it, and laid it in the same grave with his father, in the church of Oran, 1380.

« Ronald, son of John, was chief ruler of the Isles in his father's life-time, and was old in the government at his father's death.

« He assembled the gentry of the Isles, brought the sceptre from Kildonan in Eig, and delivered it to his brother Donald, who was thereupon called M'Donald, and Donald Lord of the Isles, \*\*) contrary to the opinion of the men of the Isles.

« Ronald, son of John, son of Angus Og, was a great supporter of the church and clergy; his descendants are called Clanronald. He gave the lands of Tiruma, in Uist, to the minister of it for ever, for the honour of God and Columkill; he was proprietor of all the lands of the north along the coast and the isles; he died in

---

\*) Western Isles and adjacent coast.

\*\*) Innisgal.



the year of Christ 1386, in his own mansion of Castle Tirim, leaving five children. Donald of the Isles, son of John, son of Angus Og, the brother of Ronald, took possession of Innisgall by the consent of his brother and the gentry thereof; they were all obedient to him: he married Mary Lesley, daughter to the Earl of Ross, and by her came the earldom of Ross to the M'Donalds. After his succession to that earldom, he was called M'Donald, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross. There are many things written of him in other places.

«He fought the battle of Garioch (i. e. Harlow) against Duke Murdoch, the governor, the Earl of Mar commanded the army, in support of his claim to the earldom of Ross: which was ceded to him by King James the First, after his release from the King of England, and Duke Murdoch, his two sons and retainers, were beheaded: he gave lands in Mull and Isla to the minister of Hi, and every privilege which the minister of Iona had formerly, beside vessels of gold and silver to Columkill for the monastery, and became himself one of the fraternity. He lefts issue, a lawful heir to Innisgall and Ross, namely, Alexander, the son of Donald: he died in Isla, and his body was interred in the south side of the temple of Oran. Alexander, called John of the Isles, son of Alexander of the Isles.



son of Donald of the Isles. Angus, the third son of John, son of Angus Og, married the daughter of John, the son of Allan, which connection caused some disagreement betwixt the two families about their marches and division of lands, the one party adhering to Angus, and the other to John: the differences increased so much, that John obtained from Allan all the lands betwixt Abhan Fahda (i. e. the long river) and old nasionnach (i. e. the fox burn brook), in the upper part of Cantyre. Allan went to the king to complain of his son-in-law; in a short time thereafter, there happened to be a great meeting about this young Angus's lands to the north of Inverness, where he was murdered by his own harper Mac-Cairbre, by cutting his throat with a long knife. He \*) lived a year thereafter, and many of those concerned were delivered up to the king. Angus's wife was pregnant at the time of his murder, and she bore him a son who was named Donald, and called Donald Du. He was kept in confinement until he was thirty years of age, when he was released by the men of Glenco, by the strong hand. After this enlargement, he came to the Isles, and convened the gentry thereof. There

---

\*) The murderer I presume, not the man who was murdered.



happened great feuds betwixt these families while Donald Du was in confinement, insomuch that Mac-Cean of Ardnamurchan destroyed the greatest part of the posterity of John Mor of the Isles and Cantyre. For John Cathanach, son of John, son of Donald Balloch, son of John Mor, son of John, son of Angus Og, (the chief of the descendants of John Mor) and John Mor, son of John Cathanach, and young John, son of John Cathanach, and young Donald Balloch, son of John Cathanach, were treacherously taken by Mac-Cean in the island of Finlagan, in Isla, and carried to Edinburgh, where he got them hanged at the Burrow-muir, and their bodies were buried in the church of St Anthony, called the New Church. There were none left alive at that time of the children of John Cathanach, except Alexander, the son of John Cathanach, and Agnes Flach, who concealed themselves in the glens of Ireland. Mac-Cean, hearing of their hiding places, went to cut down the woods of these glens, in order to destroy Alexander, and extirpate the whole race. At length Mac-Cean and Alexander met, were reconciled, and a marriage alliance took place; Alexander married Mac-Cean's daughter, and she brought him good children. The Mac-Donalds of the north had also descendants; for, after the death of John, Lord of the Isles, and Earl of Ross, and the murder of Angus



Alexander, the son of Archibald, the son of Alexander of the Isles, took possession, and John was in possession of the earldom of Ross, and the north bordering country, he married a daughter of the Earl of Moray, of whom some of the men of the north had descended. The Mac-Kenzies rose against Alexander, and fought the battle called Blarna Paire. Alexander had only a few of the men of Ross at the battle. He went after that battle to take possession of the Isles, and sailed in a ship to the south to see if he could find any of the posterity of John Mor alive, to rise along with him, but Mac-Cean of Ardnamurchan watched him as he sailed past, followed him to Oransay and Colonsay, went to the house where he was, and he and Alexander, son of John Cathanach, murdered him there.

10 «A good while after these things fell out, Donald Galda, son of Alexander, son of Archibald, became major; he, with the advice and direction of the Earl of Moray, came to the isles, and Mac-Leod of the Lewis, and many of the gentry of the isles, rose with him: they went by the promontory of Ardnamurchan, where they met Alexander, the son of John Cathanach, were reconciled to him, he joined his men with theirs against Mac-Cean of Ardnamurchan, came upon him at a place called the



Silver Craig, where he and his three sons, and a great number of his people, were killed, and Donald Galda was immediately declared Mac-Donald: And, after the affair of Ardnamurchan, all the men of the isles yielded to him, but he did not live above seven or eight weeks after it; he died at Carnaborg, in Mull, without issue. He had three sisters' daughters of Alexander, son of Archibald, who were portioned in the north upon the continent, but the earldom of Ross was kept for them. Alexander, the son of Archibald, had a natural son, called John Cam, of whom is descended Achnacoichan, in Ramoeh, and Donald Gorm, son of Ronald, son of Alexander Duson, of John Cam. Donald Du, son of Angus, son of John of the Isles, son of Alexander of the Isles, son of Donald of the Isles, son of John of the Isles, son of Angus Og, namely, the true heir of the Isles and Ross, came after his release from captivity to the isles, and convened the men of thereof, and he and the Earl of Lennox agreed to raise a great army for the purpose of taking possession, and a ship came from England with a supply of money to carry on the war, which landed at Mull, and the money was given to Mac-Lean of Duart to be distributed among the commanders of the army, which they not receiving in proportion as it should have been



distributed among them, caused the army to disperse, which, when the Earl of Lennox heard, he disbanded his own men, and made it up with the king: Mac-Donald went to Ireland to raise men, but he died on his way to Dublin, at Drogheda, of a fever, without issue of either sons or daughters."

In this history may be traced, though the Bard or Seannachie touches such a delicate discussion with a gentle hand, the point of difference between the three principal septs descended from the Lords of the Isles. The first question, and one of no easy solution, where so little evidence is produced, respects the nature of the connection of John, called by the Arch-dean of the Isles "the Good John of Ila," and "the last Lord of the Isles," with Anne, daughter of Roderick Mac-Dougal, high-chief of Lorn. In the absence of positive evidence presumptive must be resorted to, and I own it appears to render it in the highest degree improbable that this connection was otherwise than legitimate. In the wars between David II. and Edward Baliol, John of the Isles espoused the Baliol interest, to which he was probably determined by his alliance with Roderick of Lorn, who was, from every family predilection, friendly to Baliol and hostile to Bruce. It seems absurd to suppose, that between two chiefs of the same



descent, and nearly equal power and rank (though the Mac-Dougals had been much crushed by Robert Bruce,) such a connection should have been that of concubinage; and it appears more likely that the tempting offer of an alliance with the Bruce family, when they had obtained the decided superiority in Scotland, induced "the good John of Ila" to disinherit to a certain extent his eldest son Ronald, who came of a stock so unpopular as the Mac-Dougals, and to call to his succession his younger family, born of Margaret Stuart, daughter of Robert, afterwards king of Scotland. The setting aside of this elder branch of his family was most probably a condition of his new alliance, and his being received into favour with the dynasty he had always opposed. Nor were the laws of succession at this early period so clearly understood as to bar such transactions. The numerous and strange claims set up to the crown of Scotland, when vacant by the death of Alexander III., make it manifest how very little the indefeasible hereditary right of primogeniture was valued at that period. In fact, the title of the Bruces themselves to the crown, though justly the most popular, when assumed with the determination of asserting the independence of Scotland, was, upon pure principle, greatly inferior to that of Baliol. For Bruce, the competitor, claimed as



son of Isabella, second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon; and John Baliol, as grandson of Margaret, the elder daughter of that same earl. So that the plea of Bruce was founded upon the very loose idea, that as the great grandson of David I., King of Scotland, and the nearest collateral relation of Alexander III., he was entitled to succeed in exclusion of the great great grandson of the same David, though by an elder daughter. This maxim savoured of the ancient practice of Scotland, which often called a brother to succeed to the crown as nearer in blood than a grand-child, or even a son of a deceased monarch. But, in truth, the maxims of inheritance in Scotland were sometimes departed from at periods when they were much more distinctly understood. Such a transposition took place in the family of Hamilton, in 1513, when the descendants of James, 3d Lord, by Lady Janet Home, were set aside, with an appanage of great value indeed, in order to call to the succession those which he had by a subsequent marriage with Janet Beatoun. In short, many other examples might be quoted to show that the question of legitimacy is not always determined by the fact of succession; and there seems reason to believe that Ronald, descendant of "John of Ila," by Ann of Lorn, was legitimate, and therefore Lord of the Isles.



*de jure*, though *de facto* his younger half brother Donald, son of his father's second marriage with the princess of Scotland, superseded him in his right, and apparently by his own consent. From this Donald so preferred is descended the family of Sleat, now Lords Mac-Donald. On the other hand, from Ronald, the excluded heir, upon whom a very large appanage was settled, descended the chiefs of Glengary and Clanronald, each of whom had large possessions, and a numerous vassalage, and boasted a long descent of warlike ancestry. Their common ancestor Ronald was murdered by the Earl of Ross at the monastery of Elcho, A. D. 1346. I believe it has been subject of fierce dispute, whether Donald, who carried on the line of Glengary, or Allan of Moidart, the ancestor of the captains of Clanronald, was the eldest son of Ronald, the son of John of Isla. A humble lowlander may be permitted to wave the discussion, since a Seannachie of no small note, who wrote in the 16th century, expresses himself upon this delicate topic in the following words: —

“I have now given you an account of every thing you can expect of the descendants of the clan Colla, (i. e. the Mac-Donalds,) to the death of Donald Du at Drogheda, namely, the true line of those who possessed the Isles, Ross,



and the mountainous countries of Scotland. It was Donald, the son of Angus, that was killed at Inverness, by his (own harper Mac-i'Cairbre,) son of John of the Isles, son of Alexander, son of Donald, son of John, son of Angus Og. And I know not which of his kindred or relations is the true heir, except these five sons of John, the son of Angus Og, whom I here set down for you, namely, Ronald and Godfrey, the two sons of the daughter of Mac-Donald of Lorn, and Donald and John Mor, and Alexander Carrach, the three sons of Margaret Stewart, daughter of Robert Stewart, King of Scotland." — *Leabhar Dearg*.

#### NOTE VIII.

— The House of Lorn. — St. XI. p. 14.

The House of Lorn, as we observed in a former note, was, like the Lord of the Isles, descended from a son of Somerled, slain at Renfrew, in 1164. This son obtained the succession of his mainland territories, comprehending the greater part of the three districts of Lorn, in Argyleshire, and of course might rather be considered as petty princes than feudal barons. They assumed the patronymic appellation of Mac-Dougal, by which they are distinguished



in the history of the middle ages. The Lord of Lorn, who flourished during the wars of Bruce, was Allaster (or Alexander) Mac-Dougall, called Allaster of Argyle. He had married the third daughter of John, called the Red Comyn, \*) who was slain by Bruce in the Dominican church at Dumfries, and hence he was a mortal enemy of that prince, and more than once reduced him to great straits during the early and distressed period of his reign, as we shall have repeated occasion to notice. Bruce, when he began to obtain an ascendancy in Scotland, took the first opportunity in his power to requite these injuries. He marched into Argyleshire to lay waste the country. John of Lorn, son of the chieftain, was posted with his followers in

---

\*) The aunt, according to Lord Hailes. But the genealogy is distinctly given by Wintoun: —

The third daughter of Red Comyn,  
 Alysander of Argyle syne,  
 Took and wedded til his wife,  
 And on her he gat until his life,  
 John of Lorn, the whilk gat  
 Ewen of Lorn after that.

WYNTOUN'S *Chronicle*, Book VIII. c. VI. line 206.  
 XXV. G



the formidable pass between Dalmally and Bunawe. It is a narrow path along the verge of the huge and precipitous mountain, called Cruachan-Ben, and guarded on the other side by a precipice overhanging Loch-Awe. The pass seems to the eye of a soldier as strong, as it is wild and romantic to that of an ordinary traveller. But the skill of Bruce had anticipated this difficulty. While his main body, engaged in a skirmish with the men of Lorn, detained their attention to the front of their position, James of Douglas, with Sir Alexander Fraser, Sir William Wiseman, and Sir Andrew Grey, ascended the mountain with a select body of archery, and obtained possession of the heights which commanded the pass. A volley of arrows descending upon them directly warned the Argyleshire men of their perilous situation, and their resistance, which had hitherto been bold and manly, was changed into a precipitate flight. The deep and rapid river of Awe was then (we learn the fact from Barbour with some surprise) crossed by a bridge. This bridge the mountaineers attempted to demolish, but Bruce's followers were too close upon their rear; they were, therefore, without refuge and defence, and were dispersed with great slaughter. John of Lorn, suspicious of the event, had early betaken himself to the gallies which he had upon



the lake; but the feelings which Barbour assigns to him, while witnessing the rout and slaughter of his followers, exculpate him from the charge of cowardice.

«To John of Lorn it should displease,

«I trow, when he his men might see,

«Be slain and chased in the hill,

«That he might set not help theretill.

«But it angers as greatumly

«To good hearts that are worthy,

«To see their foes fullfill their will

«As to themselves to tholl the ill.» —

After this decisive engagement, Bruce laid waste Argyleshire, and besieged Dunstaffnage Castle, on the western shore of Lorn, compelled it to surrender, and placed in that principal stronghold of the Mac-Dougals a garrison and governor of his own. The elder Macdougall, now wearied with the contest, submitted to the victor; but his son, «rebellious,” says Barbour, «as he wont to be,” fled to England by sea. When the wars between the Bruce and Baliol factions again broke out in the reign of David II., the Lords of Lorn were again found upon the losing side, owing to their hereditary enmity to the house of Bruce. Accordingly, upon the issue of that contest, they were deprived by



David II. and his successor of by far the greater part of their extensive territories, which were conferred upon Stewart, called the Knight of Lorn. The house of Mac-Dougal continued, however, to survive the loss of power, and affords a very rare, if not an unique, instance of a family of such unlimited power, and so distinguished during the middle ages, surviving the decay of their grandeur, and flourishing in a private station. The castle of Dunolly, near Oban, with its dependencies, was the principal part of what remained to them, with their right of chieftainship over the families of their name and blood. These they continued to enjoy until the year 1715, when the representative incurred the penalty of forfeiture, for his accession to the insurrection of that period; thus losing the remains of his inheritance, to replace upon the throne the descendants of those princes, whose accession his ancestors had opposed at the expence of their feudal grandeur. The estate was, however, restored about 1745, to the father of the present proprietor, whom family experience had taught the hazard of interfering with the established government, and who remained quiet upon that occasion. He therefore regained his property when many Highland chiefs lost theirs. Nothing can be more wildly beautiful than the situation of Dunolly. The ruins are situated



upon a bold and precipitous promontory, overhanging Loch Etive, and distant about a mile from the village and port of Oban. The principal part which remains is the donjon or keep; but fragments of other buildings, overgrown with ivy, attest that it had been once a place of importance, as large apparently as Artornish or Dunstaffnage. These fragments inclose a courtyard, of which the keep probably formed one side; the entrance being by a steep ascent from the neck of the isthmus, formerly cut across by a moat, and defended doubtless by outworks and a draw-bridge. Beneath the castle stands the present mansion of the family, having on the one hand Loch Etive, with its islands and mountains, on the other two romantic eminences tufted with copsewood. There are other accompaniments suited to the scene; in particular a huge upright pillar, or detached fragment of that sort of rock called plum-pudding stone, upon the shore, about a quarter of a mile from the castle. It is called clachna-cau, or the Dog's Pillar, because Fingal is said to have used it as a stake to which he bound his celebrated dog Bran. Others say, that when the Lord of the Isles came upon a visit to the Lord of Lorn, the dogs brought for his sport were kept beside this pillar. Upon the whole, a more delightful and romantic spot can scarce be conceived; and it receives a moral



interest from the considerations attached to the residence of a family once powerful enough to confront and defeat Robert Bruce, and now sunk into the shade of private life. It is at present possessed by Patrick Mac-Dougal, Esq. the lineal and undisputed representative of the ancient Lords of Lorn. The heir of Dunolly fell lately in Spain, fighting under the Duke of Wellington, — a death well becoming his ancestry.

#### NOTE IX.

— Those lightnings of the wave.

St. XXI, p. 14.

The phenomenon called by sailors Sea-fire, is one of the most beautiful and interesting which is witnessed in the Hebrides: at times the ocean appears entirely illuminated around the vessel, and a long train of lambent coruscations are perpetually bursting upon the sides of the vessel, or pursuing her wake through the darkness. These phosphoric appearances, concerning the origin of which naturalists are not agreed in opinion, seem to be called into action by the rapid motion of the ship through the water, and are probably owing to the water being saturated with fish-spawn, or other animal substances. They



remind one strongly of the description of the sea-snakes in Mr Coleridge's wild, but highly poetical ballad of the Ancient Mariner: —

“Beyond the shadow of the ship  
I watched the water-snakes,  
They moved in tracks of shining white,  
And when they reared, the elvish light  
Fell off in hoary flakes.”

### Notes X.

Hewn in the rock, a passage there  
Sought the dark fortress by a stair  
So strait, so high, so steep,  
With peasant's staff one valiant hand  
Might well the dizzy pass have mann'd,  
'Gainst hundreds armed with spear and brand,  
And plunged them in the deep.

St. XXIV. p. 24.

The fortress of a Hebridean chief was almost always on the sea-shore, for the facility of communication which the ocean afforded. Nothing can be more wild than the situations which they chose, and the devices by which the architects [endeavoured to defend them. Narrow



stairs and arched vaults were the usual mode of access; and the draw-bridge appears at Dunstaffnage, and elsewhere, to have fallen from the gate of the building to the top of such a stair-case; so that any one advancing with hostile purpose, found himself in a state of exposed and precarious elevation, with a gulph between him and the object of his attack.

These fortresses were guarded with equal care. The duty of the watch devolved chiefly upon an officer called the Cockman, who had the charge of challenging all who approached the castle. The very ancient family of Mac-Niel of Barra kept this attendant at their castle about an hundred years ago. Martin gives the following account of the difficulty which attended his procuring entrance there: —

“The little island Kismul lies about a quarter of a mile from the south of this isle, (Barra;) it is the seat of Mackneil of Barra; there is a stone-wall round it two stories high, reaching the sea; and within the wall there is an old tower and an hall, with other houses about it. There is a little magazine in the tower; to which no stranger has access. I saw the officer called the Cockman, and an old cock he is: when I bid him ferry me over the water to the island, he told me that he was but an inferior officer, his business being to attend in



the tower; but if (says he) the constable, who then stood on the wall, will give you access, I'll ferry you over. I desired him to procure me the constable's permission, and I would reward him; but having waited some hours for the constable's answer, and not receiving any, I was obliged to return without seeing this famous fort. Mackneil and his lady being absent, was the cause of this difficulty, and of my not seeing the place. I was told some weeks after, that the constable was very apprehensive of some design I might have in viewing the fort, and thereby to expose it to the conquest of a foreign power; of which I supposed there was no great cause of fear."



## NOTES TO CANTO SECOND.

### Note I.

— De Argentine. — St. III. p. 34.

SIR Egidius, or Giles de Argentine, was one of the most accomplished knights of the period. He had served in the wars of Henry of Luxemburg with such high reputation, that he was, in popular estimation, the third worthy of the age. Those to whom fame assigned precedence over him were, Henry of Luxemburg himself, and Robert Bruce. Argentine had warred in Palestine, encountered thrice with the Saracens, and had slain two antagonists in each engagement. An easy matter, he said, for one Christian knight to slay two Pagan dogs. His death corresponded with his high character. With Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, he was



appointed to attend immediately upon the person of Edward II. When the day was utterly lost they forced the king from the field. De Argentine saw the king safe from immediate danger, and then took his leave of him; "God be with you, sir," he said, "it is not my wont to fly. So saying, he turned his horse, cried his war-cry, plunged into the midst of the combatants, and was slain. Baston, a rhyming monk who had been brought by Edward to celebrate his expected triumph, and who was compelled by the victors to compose a poem on his defeat, mentions with some feeling the death of Sir Giles de Argentine:

*"Nobilis Argenten, pugil inclyte, dulcis Egidi,  
Vix scieram mentem cum te succumbere vidi."*

"The first line mentions the three chief requisites of a true knight, noble birth, valour, and courteousness. Few Leonine couplets can be produced that have so much sentiment. I wish that I could have collected more ample memorials concerning a character altogether different from modern manners. Sir Giles d'Argentine was a hero of romance in real life." So observes the excellent Lord Hailes,



## Note II.

“Fill me the mighty cup!” he said,

“Erst own’d by royal Somerled.”

St. IV. p. 35.

A Hebridean drinking cup, of the most ancient and curious workmanship, has been long preserved in the castle of Dunvegan, in Skye, the romantic seat of Mac-Leod of Mac-Leod, the chief of that ancient and powerful clan. The horn of Rorie More, preserved in the same family, and recorded by Dr Johnson, is not to be compared with this piece of antiquity, which is one of the greatest curiosities in Scotland. The following is a pretty accurate description of its shape and dimensions, but cannot, I fear, be perfectly understood without a drawing.

This very curious piece of antiquity is nine inches and three quarters in inside depth, and ten and a half in height on the outside, the extreme measure over the lips being four inches and a half. The cup is divided into two parts by a wrought ledge, beautifully ornamented, about three-fourths of an inch in breadth. Beneath this ledge the shape of the cup is rounded off, and terminates in a flat circle, like that of a tea-cup; four short feet support the



whole. Above the projecting ledge the shape of the cup is nearly square, projecting outward at the brim. The cup is made of wood, (oak to all appearance,) but most curiously wrought and embossed with silver work, which projects from the vessel. There are a number of regular projecting sockets, which appear to have been set with stones; two or three of them still hold pieces of coral, the rest are empty. At the four corners of the projecting ledge, or cornice, are four sockets, much larger, probably for pebbles or precious stones. The workmanship of the silver is extremely elegant, and appears to have been highly gilded. The ledge, brim, and legs of the cup, are of silver. The family tradition bears that it was the property of Neil Ghlune-dhu, or Blackknee. But who this Neil was, no one pretends to say. Around the edge of the cup is a legend, perfectly legible, in the Saxon black-letter, which seems to run thus:

UFO : IOHIS : MICH : | MGN : PNCIPIS :  
 DE : | HR : MANAE : UICH : | LIAHIA :  
 MGRYNEIL : | ET : SPAT : DO : IHU : DA : |  
 CLEA : ILLDRU : CPa : | FECIT : ANO : DI :  
 IX : | 39° ONILI : OIMI : |

The inscription may run thus at length: Ufo  
 Johanis Mich Magni Principis de Hr Manae



Vich Liahia Magryneil et sperat Domîno Ihesu dari clementiam illorum opera. Fecit Anno Domini 993 Onili Oimi. Which may run in English: Ufo, the son of John, the son of Magnus, Prince of Man, the grandson of Liahia Macgryneil, trusts in the Lord Jesus that their works (i. e. his own and those of his ancestors) will obtain mercy. Oneil Oimi made this in the year of God nine hundred and ninety-three.

But this version does not include the puzzling letters HR before the word Manac. Within the mouth of the cup the letters Ihs. (Jesus) are repeated four times. From this and other circumstances it would seem to have been a chalice. This circumstance may perhaps account for the use of the two Arabic numerals 93. These figures were introduced by Pope Sylvester, A. D. 991, and might be used in a vessel formed for church service so early as 993. The workmanship of the whole cup is extremely elegant, and resembles, I am told, antiques of the same nature preserved in Ireland.

The cups thus elegantly formed, and highly valued, were by no means utensils of mere show. Martin gives the following account of the festivals of his time, and I have heard similar instances of brutality in the Lowlands at no very distant period.



“The manner of drinking used by the chief men of the Isles is called in their language Streak, i. e. a Round; for the company sat in a circle, the cup-bearer fill’d the drink round to them, and all was drank out, whatever the liquor was, whether strong or weak; they continued drinking sometimes twentyfour, sometimes forty-eight hours: It was reckoned a piece of manhood to drink until they became drunk, and there were two men with a barrow attending punctually on such occasions. They stood at the door until some became drunk, and they carry’d them upon the barrow to bed, and returned again to their post as long as any continued fresh, and so carried off the whole company, one by one, as they became drunk. Several of my acquaintance have been witnesses to this custom of drinking, but it is now abolished.”

This savage custom was not entirely done away within this last generation. I have heard of a gentleman who happened to be a water-drinker, and was permitted to abstain from the strong potations of the company. The bearers carried away one man after another, till no one was left but this Scottish Mirglip. They then came to do him the same good office, which, however, he declined as unnecessary, and proposed to walk to his bed-room. It was



a permission he could not obtain. Never such a thing had happened, they said, in the castle! that it was impossible but he must require their assistance, at any rate he must submit to receive it; and carried him off in the barrow accordingly. A classical penalty was sometimes imposed on those who baulked the rules of good fellowship by evading their share of the banquet. The same author continues: —

Among persons of distinction it was reckoned an affront put upon any company to broach a piece of wine, ale, or aquavitæ, and not to see it all drank out at one meeting. If any man chance to go out from the company, though but for a few minutes, he is obliged, upon his return, and before he take his seat, to make an apology for his absence in rhyme; which if he cannot perform, he is liable to such a share of the reckoning as the company thinks fit to impose: which custom obtains in many places still, and is called *Bianchiz Bard*, which, in their language, signifies the poet's congratulating the company." —

Few cups were better, at least more actively, employed in the rude hospitality of the period, than those of Dunvegan; one of which we have just described. There is in the *Leabhar Dearg*, a song, intimating the overflowing gratitude of a bard of Clan-Ronald, after the exuberance of a



Hebridean festival at the patriarchal fortress of Mac-Leod. The translation being obviously very literal, has greatly flattened, as I am informed, the enthusiastic gratitude of the ancient bard; and it must be owned that the works of Homer or Virgil, to say nothing of Mac-Vuirich, might have suffered by their transfusion through such a medium. It is pretty plain, that when the tribute of poetical praise was bestowed, the horn of Rorie More had not been inactive.

*Upon Sir Rodric Mor Macleod, by Niall Mor  
Mac-Vuirich.*

«The six nights I remained in the Dunvegan, it was not a show of hospitality I met with there, but a plentiful feast in thy fair hall among thy numerous host of heroes.

«The family placed all around under the protection of their great chief, raised by his prosperity and respect for his warlike feats, now enjoying the company of his friends at the feast, — Amidst the sound of harps, overflowing cups, and happy youth unaccustomed to guile, or feud, partaking of the generous fare by a flaming fire.

XXV.

D



“Mighty Chief, liberal to all in your princely mansion, filled with your numerous warlike host, whose generous wine would overcome the hardiest heroes, yet we continued to enjoy the feast, so happy our host, so generous our fare.”

— Translated by D. Mac-Intosh.

It would be unpardonable in a modern bard, who has experienced the hospitality of Dunvegan Castle in the present day, to omit paying his own tribute of gratitude for a reception more elegant indeed, but not less kindly sincere, than Sir Roderick More himself could have afforded. But Johnson has already described a similar scene in the same ancient patriarchal residence of the Lords of Mac-Leod.

“Whatever is imaged in the wildest tales, if giants, dragons, and enchantment be excepted, would be felt by him, who, wandering in the mountains without a guide, or upon the sea without a pilot, should be carried amidst his terror and uncertainty, to the hospitality and elegance of Raasay or Dunvegan.”

### Note III.

With solemn step, and silver wand;  
The Seneschal the presence scann'd  
Of these strange guests — St. VI. p. 37.

The Sewer, to whom, rather than the Sene-



schal, the office of arranging the guests of an island chief appertained, was an officer of importance in the family of an Hebridean chief.

«Every family had commonly two stewards, which, in their language, were called Marischall Tach: the first of these served always at home, and was obliged to be versed in the pedigree of all the tribes in the isles, and in the highlands of Scotland; for it was his province to assign every man at table his seat according to his quality; and this was done without one word speaking, only by drawing a score with a white rod, which this Marischall had in his hand, before the person who was bid by him to sit down: and this was necessary to prevent disorder and contention; and though the Marischall might sometimes be mistaken, the master of the family incurred no censure by such an escape; but this custom has been laid aside of late. They had also cup-bearers, who always filled and carried the cup round the company, and he himself always drank off the first draught. They had likewise purse-masters, who kept their money. Both these officers had an hereditary right to their office in writing, and each of them had a town and land for his service: some of those rights I have seen fairly written on good parchment.» — MARTIN'S Western Isles.



## Note IV.

—— the rebellious Scottish crew,  
Who to Rath-Erin's shelter drew,  
With Carrick's out-law'd Chief?

St. IX. p. 39.

It must be remembered by all who have read the Scottish history, that after he had slain Comyn at Dumfries, and asserted his right to the Scottish crown, Robert Bruce was reduced to the greatest extremity by the English and their adherents. He was crowned at Scone by the general consent of the Scottish barons, but his authority endured but a short time. According to the phrase said to have been used by his wife, he was for that year «a summer king, but not a winter one.» On the 29th March, 1306, he was crowned king at Scone. Upon the 19th June, in the same year, he was totally defeated at Methven, near Perth; and his most important adherents, with few exceptions, were either executed or compelled to embrace the English interest, for safety of their lives and fortunes. After this disaster, his life was that of an outlaw, rather than a candidate for monarchy. He separated himself from the females of his retinue, whom he sent for safety to the castle



of Kildrummie, in Aberdeenshire, where they afterward became captives to England. From Aberdeenshire Bruce retreated to the mountainous parts of Breadalbane, and approached the borders of Argyleshire. There, as mentioned in a preceding, and more fully in a subsequent note, he was defeated by the Lord of Lorn, who had assumed arms against him in revenge of the death of his relative, John the Red Comyn. Escaped from this peril, Bruce, with his few attendants, subsisted by hunting and fishing, until the weather compelled them to seek better sustenance and shelter than the Highland mountains afforded. With great difficulty they crossed, from Rowardennan probably, to the western banks of Lochlomond, partly in a miserable boat, and partly by swimming. The valiant and loyal Earl of Lennox, to whose territories they had now found their way, welcomed them with tears, but was unable to assist them to make an effectual head. The Lord of the Isles, then in possession of great part of Cantyre, received the fugitive monarch and future restorer of his country's independence, in his castle of Dunnaverty, in that district. But treason, says Barbour, was so general, that the king durst not abide there. Accordingly, with the remnant of his followers, Bruce embarked for Rath-Erin, or Rachrine, the Recina of Pto-



lemy, a small island, lying almost opposite to the shores of Ballycastle, on the coast of Ireland. The islanders at first fled from their new and armed guests, but upon some explanation submitted themselves to Bruce's sovereignty. He resided among them until the approach of spring, (1306,) when he again returned to Scotland, with the desperate resolution to reconquer his kingdom, or perish in the attempt. The progress of his success, from its commencement to its completion, forms the brightest period in Scottish history.

#### Note V.

The Broach of Lorn. — St. XI. p. 40.

It has been generally mentioned in the preceding notes, that Robert Bruce, after his defeat at Methven, being hard pressed by the English, endeavoured, with the dispirited remnant of his followers, to escape from Breadalbane and the mountains of Perthshire into the Argyleshire highlands. But he was encountered and repulsed, after a very severe engagement, by the Lord of Lorn. Bruce's personal strength and courage were never displayed to greater advantage than in this conflict. There is a tradition in the family of the Mac-Dougals of Lorn, that



their chieftain engaged in personal battle with Bruce himself, while the latter was employed in protecting the retreat of his men; that Mac-Dougal was struck down by the king, whose strength of body was equal to his vigour of mind, and would have been slain on the spot, had not two of Lorn's vassals, a father and son, whom tradition terms M'Keoch, rescued him, by seizing the mantle of the monarch, and dragging him from above his adversary. Bruce rid himself of these foes by two blows of his redoubted battle-axe, but was so closely pressed by the other followers of Lorn, that he was forced to abandon the mantle, and broach which fastened it, clasped in the dying grasp of the Mac-Keochs. A studded broach, said to have been that which King Robert lost upon this occasion, was long preserved in the family of Mac-Dougal, and was lost in a fire which consumed their temporary residence.

The metrical history of Barbour throws an air of credibility upon the tradition, although it does not entirely coincide either in the names or number of the vassals by whom Bruce was assailed, and makes no mention of the personal danger of Lorn, or of the loss of Bruce's mantle. The last circumstance indeed might be warrantably omitted.

According to Barbour, the king, with his



handful of followers, not amounting propably to three hundred men, encountered Lorn with about a thousand Argyleshire men in Glen-Douchart, at the head of Breadalbane, near Teyndrum. The place of action is still called Dalry, or the King's Field. The field of battle was unfavourable to Bruce's adherents, who were chiefly men at arms. Many of the horses were slain by the long pole-axes, of which the Argyleshire Scottish had learned the use from the Norwegians. At length Bruce commanded a retreat up a narrow and difficult pass, he himself bringing up the rear, and repeatedly turning and driving back the more venturous assailants. Lorn, observing the skill and valour used by his enemy in protecting the retreat of his followers, "Methinks, Murthokson," said he, addressing one of his followers, "he resembles Gol Mak-morn, protecting his followers from Fingal." — "A most unworthy comparison," observes the arch-deacon of Aberdeen, unsuspecting of the future fame of these names; "he might with more propriety have compared the king to Sir Gaudefer de Layrs, protecting the foragers of Gadyrs against the attacks of Alexander." \*) Two brothers, the

---

\*) This is a very curious passage, and has been often quoted in the Ossianic controversy. That it refers



strongest among Lorn's followers, whose names Barbour calls Mackyn-Drosser, (interpreted Durward, or Porterson) resolved to rid their chief of this formidable foe. A third person (perhaps the Mac-Keoch of the family tradition) associated himself with them for this purpose. They watched their opportunity until Bruce's party had entered a pass between a lake (Loch Dochart probably) and a precipice, where the king, who was the last of the party, had scarce room to manage his steed. Here his three foes sprung upon him at once. One seized his bridle, but received a wound which hewed off his arm; a second grasped Bruce by the stirrup and leg, and endeavoured to dismount him, but the king, putting spurs to his horse, threw him down, still holding by the stirrup. The third, taking advantage of an acclivity, sprung up behind him upon his horse.

---

to ancient Celtic tradition, there can be no doubt, and as little that it refers to no incident in the poems published by Mr Macpherson as from the Gaelic. The hero of romance, whom Barbour thinks a more proper prototype for the Bruce, occurs in the romance of Alexander, of which there is an unique translation into Scottish verse in the library of the honourable Mr Maule of Panmure — See WEBER'S *Romances*, vol. I. *Appendix to Introduction*, p. lxxix.



Bruce, however; whose personal strength is uniformly mentioned as exceeding that of most men, extricated himself from his grasp, threw him to the ground, and cleft his skull with his sword. By similar exertion he drew the stirrup from his grasp whom he had overthrown, and killed him also with his sword as he lay among the horse's feet. The story seems romantic, but this was the age of romantic exploit; and it must be remembered that Bruce was armed cap-a-pie, and the assailants were half-clad mountaineers. Barbour adds the following circumstance, highly characteristic of the sentiments of chivalry. Mac-Naughton, a baron of Cowal, pointed out to the Lord of Lorn the deeds of valour which Bruce performed in this memorable retreat, with the highest expressions of admiration. "It seems to give thee pleasure," said Lorn, "that he makes such havoc among our friends." — "Not so, by my faith," replied Mac-Naughton; "but be he friend or foe who achieves high deeds of chivalry, men should bear faithful witness to his valour; and never have I heard of one, who, by his knightly feats, has extricated himself from such dangers as have this day surrounded Bruce."



## Note VI.

Wrought and chased with rare device,  
Studded fair with gems of price.

St. XI. p. 40.

Great art and expence was bestowed upon the fibula, or broach, which secured the plaid, when the wearer was a person of importance. Martin mentions having seen a silver broach of an hundred marks value.

“It was broad as any ordinary pewter plate the whole curiously engraven with various animals, etc. There was a lesser buckle, which was wore in the middle of the larger, and above two ounces weight; it had in the centre a large piece of crystal, or some finer stone, and this was set all round with several finer stones of a lesser size.” — Western Islands.

Pennant has given an engraving of such a broach as Martin describes, and the workmanship of which is very elegant. It is said to have belonged to the family of Lochbuy. — See PENNANT'S Tour, vol. III. p. 14.



## Note VH.

Vain was then the Douglas brand,  
Vain the Campbell's vaunted hand.

St. XIII. p. 42.

The gallant Sir James, called the Good Lord Douglas, the most faithful and valiant of Bruce's adherents, was wounded at the battle of Dalry. Sir Nigel, or Niel Campbell, was also in that unfortunate skirmish. He married Marjorie, sister to Robert Bruce, and was among his most faithful followers. In a manuscript account of the house of Argyle, supplied, it would seem, as materials for Archbishop Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, I find the following passage concerning Sir Niel Campbell:—  
“Moreover, when all the nobles in Scotland had left King Robert after his hard success, yet this noble knight was most faithful, and shrinked not, as it is to be seen in an indenture bearing these words: — Memorandum quod cum ab incarnatione Domini 1308 conventum fuit et concordatum inter nobiles viros Dominum Alexandrum de Seatoun militem et Dominum Gilbertum de Haye militem et Dominum Nigellum Campbell militem apud monasterium de Cambuskenneth 9<sup>o</sup> Septembris qui tacta sancta eu-



charista, magnoque juramento facto, jurarunt se debere libertatem regni et Robertum nuper regem coronatum contra omnes mortales Francos Anglos Scotos defendere usque ad ultimum terminum vitæ ipsorum. Their sealles are appended to the indenture in greene wax, togithir with the seal of Gulfrid, Abbot of Cambuskeneth."

### Note VIII.

Vain Kirkpatrick's bloody dirk,

Making sure of murder's work.

St. XIII. p. 42.

Every reader must recollect that the proximate cause of Bruce's asserting his right to the crown of Scotland, was the death of John, called the Red Comyn. The causes of this act of violence, equally extraordinary from the high rank both of the perpetrator and sufferer, and from the place where the slaughter was committed, are variously related by the Scottish and English historians, and cannot now be ascertained. The fact that they met at the high altar of the Minorites or Grey-Friar's church in Dumfries, that their difference broke out into high and insulting language, and that Bruce, drew his dagger and stabbed Comyn, is certain. Rushing to the



door of the church, Bruce met two powerful barons, Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, and James de Lindsay, who eagerly asked him what tidings? "Bad tidings," answered Bruce, "I doubt I have slain Comyn." "Doubtest thou?" said Kirkpatrick; "I make sicker," (i. e. sure.) With these words, he and Lindsay rushed into the church, and dispatched the wounded Comyn. The Kirkpatricks of Closeburn assumed, in memory of this deed, a hand holding a dagger, with the memorable words, "I make sicker." Some doubt having been started by the late Lord Hailes as to the identity of the Kirkpatrick who completed this day's work with Sir Roger, then representative of the ancient family of Closeburn, my kind and ingenious friend, Mr Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, has furnished me with the following memorandum, which appears to fix the deed with his ancestor: —

"The circumstances of the Regent Cummin's murder, from which the family of Kirkpatrick, in Nithsdale, is said to have derived its crest and motto, are well known to all conversant with Scottish history; but Lord Hailes has started a doubt as to the authenticity of this tradition, when recording the murder of Roger Kirkpatrick, in his own castle of Caerlaverock, by Sir James Lindsay. 'Fordun,' says his lordship, 'remarks that Lindsay and Kirkpatrick were the heirs of



the two men who accompanied Robert Brus at the fatal conference with Comyn. If Fordun was rightly informed as to this particular, an argument arises, in support of a notion which I have long entertained, that the person who struck his dagger in Comyn's heart was not the representative of the honourable family of Kirkpatrick in Nithsdale. Roger de K. was made prisoner at the battle of Durham in 1346. Roger de Kirkpatrick was alive on the 6th of August, 1357; for, on that day, Humphry, the son and heir of Roger de K., is proposed as one of the young gentlemen who were to be hostages for David Bruce. Roger de K. Miles was present at the parliament held at Edinburgh, 25th September, 1357; and he is mentioned as alive 3d October, 1357, (*Foedera*;) it follows, of necessary consequence, that Roger de K., murdered in June, 1357, must have been a different person.' — *Annals of Scotland*, vol. II. p. 242.

«To this it may be answered, that at the period of the regent's murder, there were only two families of the name of Kirkpatrick (nearly allied to each other) in existence — Stephen Kirkpatrick, styled in the Chartulary of Kelso, (1278) *Dominus villæ de Closeburn, Filius et hæres Domini Ade. de Kirkpatrick, Milities*, (whose father, Ivone de Kirkpatrick, witnesses



a charter of Robert Brus, Lord of Annandale, before the year 1141,) had two sons, Sir Roger, who carried on the line of Closeburn, and Duncan, who married Isobel, daughter and heiress of Sir David Torthorwald of that ilk; they had a charter of the lands of Torthorwald from King Robert Brus, dated 10th August, the year being omitted — Umphray, the son of Duncan and Isobel, got a charter of Torthorwald from the king, 16th July, 1322 — his son, Roger of Torthorwald, got a charter from John the Grahame, son of Sir John Grahame of Mosskessen, of an annual rent of 40 shillings, out of the lands of Overdryft; 1355 — his son, William Kirkpatrick, grants a charter to John of Garroch, of the twa merk land of Glengip and Garvellgill, within the tenement of Wamphray, 22d April, 1372. From this, it appears that the Torthorwald branch was not concerned in the affair of Comyn's murder, and the inflictions of Providence which ensued: Duncan Kirkpatrick, if we are to believe the Blind Minstrel, was the firm friend of Wallace, to whom he was related.

(„Kyrkpatrick, that cruel was and keyne,  
In Esdail wod that half zer he had been;  
With Inglismen he couth nocht weill accord,  
Of Torthorwald he Baron was and Lord,  
Of kyn he was to Wallace modyr ner,") etc.



But this Baron seems to have had no share in the adventures of King Robert; the crest of his family, as it still remains on a carved stone built into a cottage wall, in the village of Torthorwald, bears some resemblance, says Grose, to a rose.

«Universal tradition, and all our later historians, have attributed the regent's death-blow to Sir Roger K. of Closeburn. The author of the MS. History of the Presbytery of Penpont, in the Advocates' Library, affirms, that the crest and motto were given by the king on that occasion; and proceeds to relate some circumstances respecting a grant to a cottager and his wife in the vicinity of Closeburn Castle, which are certainly authentic, and strongly vouch for the truth of the other report.

«The steep hill, (says he,) called the Dune of Tynron, of a considerable height, upon the top of which there hath been some habitation or fort. There have been in ancient times, on all hands of it, very thick woods, and great about that place, which made it the more inaccessible, into which K. Ro. Bruce is said to have been conducted by Roger Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, after they had killed the Cumin at Dumfriess, which is nine miles from this place, whereabout it is probable that he did abide for



some time thereafter; and it is reported, that during his abode there, he did often divert to a poor man's cottage, named Brownrig, situate in a small parcel of stoney ground, encompassed with thick woods, where he was content sometimes with such mean accommodation as the place could afford. The poor man's wife being advised to petition the king for somewhat, was so modest in her desires, that she sought no more but security for the croft in her husband's possession, and a liberty of pasturage for a very few cattle of different kinds on the hill, and the rest of the bounds. Of which priviledge that ancient family, by the injury of time, hath a long time been, and is, deprived: but the croft continues in the possession of the heirs and successours lineally descended of this Brownrig and his wife; so that this family, being more ancient than rich, doth yet continue in the name, and, as they say, retains the old charter.\* — MS. History of the Presbytery of Penpont, in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh.

#### N o t e IX.

Barendown fled fast away,

Fled the fiery De la Haye. — St. XIII. p. 42.

These knights are enumerated by Barbour



among the small number of Bruce's adherents, who remained in arms with him after the battle of Methven.

„With him was a bold baron,  
Schyr William the Baroundoun,

— — — — —  
Schyr Gilbert de la Haye alsua.”

There were more than one of the noble family of Hay engaged in Bruce's cause; but the principal was Gilbert de la Haye, Lord of Errol, a staunch adherent to King Robert's interest, and whom he rewarded by creating him hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland, a title which he used 16th March, 1308, where, in a letter from the peers of Scotland to Philip the Fair of France, he is designed Gilbertus de Hay Constabularius Scotiæ. He was slain at the battle of Halidoun-hill. Hugh de la Haye, his brother, was made prisoner at the battle of Methven.

#### N o t e X.

Well hast thou framed, Old Man, thy strains,  
To praise the hand that pays thy pains.

St. XIV. p. 43.

The character of the Highland bards, however



high in an earlier period of society, seems soon to have degenerated. The Irish affirm, that in their kindred tribes severe laws became necessary to restrain their avarice. In the Highlands they seem gradually to have sunk into contempt, as well as the orators, or men of speech, with whose office that of family poet was often united.

«The orators, in their language called Isdane, were in high esteem both in these islands and the continent; until within these forty years, they sat always among the nobles and chiefs of families in the streat, or circle. Their houses and little villages were sanctuaries, as well as churches, and they took place before doctors of physick. The orators, after the Druids were extinct, were brought in to preserve the genealogy of families, and to repeat the same at every succession of chiefs; and upon the occasion of marriages and births, they made epithalamiums and panegyricks, which the poet or bard pronounced. The orators, by the force of their eloquence, had a powerful ascendant over the greatest men in their time; for if any orator did but ask the habit, arms, horse, or any other thing belonging to the greatest man in these islands, it was readily granted them, sometimes out of respect, and sometimes for fear of being exclaimed against by a satire,



which, in those days, was reckoned a great dishonour. But these gentlemen becoming insolent, lost ever since both the profit and esteem which was formerly due to their character; for neither their panegyrics nor satires are regarded to what they have been, and they are now allowed but a small salary. I must not omit to relate their way of study, which is very singular: They shut their doors and windows for a day's time, and lie on their backs, with a stone upon their belly, and plads about their heads, and their eyes being covered, they pump their brains for rhetorical encomium or panegyrick; and indeed they furnish such a style from this dark cell as is understood by very few; and if they purchase a couple of horses as the reward of their meditation, they think they have done a great matter. The poet, or bard, had a title to the bridegroom's upper garb, that is, the plad and bonnet; but now he is satisfied with what the bridegroom pleases to give him on such occasions." — MARTIN'S Western Isles.

## N o t e XI.

Was't not enough to Ronald's bower  
I brought thee, like a paramour.

St. XXV. p. 52.

It was anciently customary in the Highlands



to bring the bride to the house of the husband. Nay, in some cases the complaisance was stretched so far, that she remained there upon trial for a twelvemonth; and the bridegroom, even after this period of cohabitation, retained an option of refusing to fulfil his engagement. It is said that a desperate feud ensued between the clans of Mac-Donald of Sleate and Mac-Leod, owing to the former chief having availed himself of this licence to send back to Dunvegan a sister, or daughter, of the latter. Mac-Leod, resenting the indignity, observed, that since there was no wedding bonfire, there should be one to solemnize the divorce. Accordingly, he burned and laid waste the territories of Mac-Donald, who retaliated, and a deadly feud, with all its accompaniments, took place in form.

#### N o t e XII.

Since matchless Wallace first had been  
In mock'ry crown'd with wreaths of green.

St. XXVI. p. 53.

Stow gives the following curious account of the trial and execution of this celebrated patriot: — «William Wallace, who had oft-times



set Scotland in great trouble, was taken and brought to London, with great numbers of men and women wondering upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch-street. On the morrow, being the eve of St Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster. John Legrave and Geffrey, knights, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, and many others, both on horseback and on foot, accompanying him; and in the great hall at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel, for that he had said in times past that he ought to bear a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported; and being appeached for a traitor by Sir Peter Malorie, the king's justice, he answered, that he was never traitor to the King of England; but for other things whereof he was accused he confessed them; and was after headed and quartered." — Stow, Chr. p. 209.

There is something singularly doubtful about the mode in which Wallace was taken. That he was betrayed to the English is indubitable; and popular fame charges Sir John Menteith with the indelible infamy. "Accursed," says Arnold Blair, "be the day of nativity of John de Menteith, and may his name be struck out of the book of life." But John de Menteith



was all along a zealous favourer of the English interest, and was governor of Dumbarton Castle by commission from Edward the First; and therefore, as the accurate Lord Hailes has observed, could not be the friend and confidant of Wallace, as tradition states him to be. The truth seems to be, that Menteith thoroughly engaged in the English interest, pursued Wallace closely, and made him prisoner through the treachery of an attendant, whom Peter Langtoft calls Jack Short.

William Waleis is nomen that master was  
of theves,

Tiding to the king is comen that robbery  
mischeives,

Sir John of Menetest sued William so nigh,  
He tok him when he ween'd least, on night,  
his leman him by,

That was through treason of *Jack Short* his  
man .

He was the encheson that Sir John so him ran,  
Jack's brother had he slain, the Walleis  
that is said,

The more Jack was fain to do William that braid."

From this it would appear that the infamy of seizing Wallace, must rest between a dege-



nerate Scottish nobleman, the vassal of England, and a domestic, the obscure agent of his treachery; between Sir John Menteith, son of Walter, Earl of Menteith, and the traitor, Jack Short.

### N o t e XIII.

Where's Nigel Bruce and De la Haye,  
And valiant Seton — where are they?  
Where Somerville, the kind and free?  
And Fraser, flower of chivalry?

St. XXVI. p. 53.

When these lines were written, the author was remote from the means of correcting his indistinct recollection concerning the individual fate of Bruce's followers, after the battle of Methven. Hugh de la Haye and Thomas Somerville of Lintoun and Cowdally, ancestor of Lord Somerville, were both made prisoners at that defeat, but neither was executed.

Sir Nigel Bruce was the younger brother of Robert, to whom he committed the charge of his wife and daughter, Marjorie, and the defence of his strong castle of Kildrummie, near the head of the Don, in Aberdeenshire. Kildrummie long resisted the arms of the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford, until the magazine was



treacherously burnt. The garrison was then compelled to surrender at discretion, and Nigel Bruce, a youth remarkable for personal beauty, as well as for gallantry, fell into the hands of the unrelenting Edward. He was tried by a special commission at Berwick, was condemned, and executed.

Christopher Seatoun shared the same unfortunate fate. He also was distinguished by personal valour, and signalized himself in the fatal battle of Methven. Robert Bruce adventured his person in that battle like a knight of romance. He dismounted Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, but was in his turn dismounted by Sir Philip Mowbray. In this emergence Seatoun came to his aid, and remounted him. Langtoft mentions, that in this battle the Scottish wore white surplices, or shirts, over their armour, that those of rank might not be known. In this manner both Bruce and Seatoun escaped. But the latter was afterwards betrayed to the English, through means, according to Barbour, of one Mac-Nab, "a disciple of Judas," in whom the unfortunate knight reposed entire confidence. There was some peculiarity respecting his punishment; because, according to Matthew of Westminster, he was considered not as a Scottish subject, but an Englishman. He was therefore taken to Dumfries, where he was tried,



condemned, and executed, for the murder of a soldier slain by him. His brother, John de Seton, had the same fate at Newcastle; both were considered as accomplices in the slaughter of Comyn, but in what manner they were particularly accessory to that deed does not appear.

The fate of Sir Simon Frazer, or Frizel, ancestor of the family of Lovat, is dwelt upon at great length, and with savage exultation, by the English historians. This knight, who was renowned for personal gallantry and high deeds of chivalry, was also made prisoner, after a gallant defence, in the battle of Methven. Some stanzas of a ballad of the times, which, for the sake of rendering it intelligible, I have translated out of its rude orthography, give minute particulars of his fate. It was written immediately at the period, for it mentions the Earl of Athole as not yet in custody. It was first published by the indefatigable Mr Ritson, but with so many contractions and peculiarities of character, as to render it illegible, excepting by antiquaries.

This was before Saint Bartholomew's mass,  
That Frizel was y-taken, were it more other  
less,

To Sir Thomas of Multon, gentil baron and free,  
And to Sir John Jose be-take tho was he



To hand  
He was y-fettered wele  
Both with iron and steel  
To bringen to Scotland.

Soon after the tiding to the king come,  
He sent him to London, with mony armed groom,  
He came in at Newgate, I tell you it on a-plight,  
A garland of leaves on his head y-dight

Of green,  
For he should be y-know  
Both of high and of low,  
For the traitour I ween.

Y-fettered were his legs under his horse's wombe,  
Both with iron and with steel mancled were  
his hond,

A garland of pervynk<sup>1)</sup> set upon his heved,<sup>2)</sup>  
Much was the power that him was bereved,  
In land.

So God me amend,  
Little he ween'd

So to be brought in hand.

This was upon our lady's even, forsooth I un-  
derstand,

The justices sate for the knights of Scotland,

---

1) Periwinkle; 2) Head.



Sir Thomas of Multon, an kinde knyght and wise,  
And Sir Ralph of Sandwich that mickle is  
hold in price,  
And Sir John Abel,  
Moe I might tell by tale  
Both of great and small  
Ye know sooth well.

Then said the justice, that gentil is and free,  
Sir Simond Frizel the king's traiter hast thou be;  
In water and in land that mony mighten see,  
What sayst thou thereto how will thou quite be,  
Do say,  
So foul he him wist,  
Nede war on trust  
For to say nay.

With fetters and with gins <sup>1)</sup> y-hot he was to  
draw  
From the Tower of London that many men  
might know,  
In a kirtle of Burel, a selcouth wise,  
And a garland on his head of the new guise.  
Through Cheape  
Many men of England  
For to see Symond  
Thitherward can leap.

---

1) He was condemned to be drawn.



Though he cam to the gallows first he was  
on hung,

All quick beheaded that him thought long;  
Then he was y-opened, his bowels y-brend, <sup>2)</sup>  
The heved to London-bridge was send  
To shende.

So evermore mote I the,  
Some while weened he  
Thus, little to stand. <sup>3)</sup>

He rideth through the city, as I tell may,  
With gamen and with solace that was their play,  
To London-bridge he took the way,  
Money was the wives child that thereon lacketh  
a day, <sup>4)</sup>

And said, alas!  
That he was y-born  
And so vilely forlorn,  
So fair man he was. <sup>5)</sup>

---

<sup>2)</sup> Burned.

<sup>3)</sup> Meaning, at one time he little thought to stand thus.

<sup>4)</sup> viz. Saith Lack-a-day.

<sup>5)</sup> The gallant knight, like others in the same situation, was pitied by the female spectators as „a proper young man.“



Now standeth the heved above the tu-brigge,  
Fast by Wallace sooth for to segge;  
After succour of Scotland long may he pry,  
And after help of France what halt it to lie,  
I ween,  
Better him were in Scotland,  
With his axe in his hand,  
To play on the green, etc.

The preceding stanzas contain probably as minute an account as can be found of the trial and execution of state criminals of the period. Superstition mingled its horrors with those of a ferocious state policy, as appears from the following singular narrative.

“The Friday next, before the assumption of Our Lady, King Edward met Robert the Bruce at Saint Johnstoune, in Scotland, and with his company, of which company King Edward queide seven thousand. When Robert the Bruce saw this mischief, and gan to flee, and hov’d him that men might not him find; but S. Simond Frisell pursued was so sore, so that he turned again and abode bataille, for he was a worthy knight and a bolde of bodye, and the Englishmen pursuede him sore on every side, and quelde the steed that Sir Simon Frisell rode upon, and then toke him and led him to the



host. And S. Symond began for to flatter and speke fair, and saide, Lordys, I shall give you four thousand markes of silver, and myne horse and harness, and all my armoure and income. Tho' answered Thobaude of Pevenes, that was the kinges archer, Now, God me so helpe, it is for nought that thou speakest, for all the gold of England I would not let thee go without commandment of King Edward. And tho' he was led to the king, and the king would not see him, but commanded to lead him away to his doom in London, on Our Lady's even nativity. And he was hung and drawn, and his head smitten off, and hanged again with chains of iron upon the gallows, and his head was set at London-bridge upon a spear, and against Christmas the body was burnt, for encheson (reason) that the men that kepted the body saw many devils ramping with iron crooks, running upon the gallows, and horribly tormenting the body. And many that them saw, anon thereafter died for dread, or waxen mad, or sore sickness they had." — MS. Chronicle in the British Museum, quoted by Ritson.



## N o t e XIV.

Was not the life of Athole shed,  
To sooth the tyrant's sicken'd bed?

St. XXVI. p. 53.

John de Strathbogie, Earl of Athole, had attempted to escape out of the kingdom, but a storm cast him upon the coast, when he was taken, sent to London, and executed, with circumstances of great barbarity, being first half strangled, then let down from the gallows while yet alive, barbarously dismembered, and his body burnt. It may surprise the reader to learn, that this was a mitigated punishment; for, in respect that his mother was a grand-daughter of King John, by his natural son Richard, he was not drawn on a sledge to execution, "that point was forgiven," and he made the passage on horseback. Matthew of Westminster tells us that King Edward, then extremely ill, received great ease from the news that his relative was apprehended. "*Quo audito, Rex Angliæ, etsi gravissimo morbo tunc langueret, levius tamen tulit dolorem.*" To this singular expression the text alludes.



## N o t e X V .

And must his word, at dying day,  
Be nought but quarter, hang, and slay!

St. XXVI. p. 53.

This alludes to a passage in Barbour, singularly expressive of the vindictive spirit of Edward I. The prisoners taken at the castle of Kildrummie had surrendered upon condition that they should be at King Edward's disposal. "But his will," says Barbour, "was always evil towards Scottishmen." The news of the surrender of Kildrummie arrived when he was in his mortal sickness at Burgh-upon-Sands.

"And when he ot the death was near,  
The folk that at Kyldromy wer  
Come with prisoners that they had tane,  
And syne to the king are gane.  
Ann for to comfort him they tauld  
How they the castell to them yauld:  
And how they till his will were brought,  
To do off that whatever he thought;  
And ask'd what men should off them do.  
Then look'd he angryly them to,  
He said, grinning, "HANGS AND DRAWS."  
That was wonder of sic saws,



That he, that to the death was near,  
Should answer upon sic maner;  
Forouten moaning and mercy.  
How might he trust on him to cry,  
That sooth-fastly dooms all things  
To have mercy for his crying,  
Off him that, throw his felony,  
Into sic point had no mercy?"

There was much truth in the Leonine couplet,  
with which Matthew of Westminster concludes  
his encomium on the first Edward:

"Scotos, Edwardus, dum vixit, suppeditavit,  
Tenuit, afflixit, depressit, dilaniavit."

#### N o t e X V I.

By Woden wild (my grandsire's oath.)

St. XXVII. p. 54.

The Mac-Leods, and most other distinguished  
Hebridean families, were of Scandinavian extrac-  
tion, and some were late or imperfect converts  
to Christianity. The family names of Torquil,  
Thormod, etc. are all Norwegian.



## N o t e XVII.

While I the blessed cross advance,  
And expiate this unhappy chance,  
In Palestine, with sword and lance.

St. XXIX. p. 56.

Bruce uniformly professed, and probably felt, compunction for having violated the sanctuary of the church by the slaughter of Comyn; and finally, in his last hours, in testimony of his faith, penitence, and zeal, he requested James Lord Douglas to carry his heart to Jerusalem, to be there deposited in the Holy Sepulchre.

## N o t e XVIII.

De Bruce! I rose with purpose dread,  
To speak my curse upon thy head.

St. XXXI. p. 57.

So soon as the notice of Comyn's slaughter reached Rome, Bruce and his adherents were excommunicated. It was published first by the Archbishop of York, and renewed at different times, particularly by Lambyrton, Bishop of St Andrew's, in 1308; but it does not appear to have answered the purpose which the English



monarch expected. Indeed, for reasons which it may be difficult to trace, the thunders of Rome descended upon the Scottish mountains with less effect than in more fertile countries. Probably the comparative poverty of the benefices occasioned that fewer foreign clergy settled in Scotland; and the interest of the native church-men were linked with that of their country. Many of the Scottish prelates, Lambyrton the primate particularly, declared for Bruce, while he was yet under the ban of the church, although he afterwards again changed sides.

#### N o t e XIX.

I feel within my aged breast

A power that will not be repress'd.

St. XXXI. p. 57.

Bruce, like other heroes, observed omens, and one is recorded by tradition. After he had retreated to one of the miserable places of shelter in which he could venture to take some repose after his disasters, he lay stretched upon a handful of straw, and abandoned himself to his melancholy meditations. He had now been defeated four times, and was upon the point of resolving to abandon all hopes of further opposition to his fate, and to go to the Holy Land. It chanced



his eye, while he was thus pondering, was attracted by the exertions of a spider, who, in order to fix his web, endeavoured to swing himself from one beam to another above his head. Involuntarily he became interested in the pertinacity with which the insect renewed his exertions, after failing six times; and it occurred to him that he would decide his own course according to the success or failure of the spider. At the seventh effort the insect gained his object; and Bruce, in like manner, persevered and carried his own. Hence it has been held unlucky or ungrateful, or both, in one of the name of Bruce to kill a spider.

The arch-deacon of Aberdeen, instead of the abbot of this tale, introduces an Irish Pythoness, who not only predicted his good fortune as he left the island of Rachrin, but sent her two sons along with him, to ensure her own family a share in it.

«Then in short time men might them see  
Shoot all their galleys to the sea,  
And bear to sea both oar and steer,  
And other things that mister<sup>1)</sup> were.

---

<sup>1)</sup> Need.



And as the king upon the sand  
Was ganging up and dow, bidand <sup>1)</sup>  
Till that his men ready were,  
His host come right till him there,  
And when that she him halsed had,  
And privy speech till him she made;  
And said, «Take good keep till my saw,  
«For or ye pass I will ye show,  
«Off your fortoun a great party.  
«But our all specially  
«A wittering here I shall you ma,  
«What end that your purposs shall ta.  
«For in this land is none trewly  
«Wots things to come so well as I.  
«Ye pass now furth on your voyage,  
«To avenge the harme, and the outrage,  
«That Inglissmen has to you done;  
«But you wot not what kind fortune  
«Ye mon drey in your warring.  
«But wyt ye well, without lying,  
«That from ye now have taken land,  
«None so mighty, no so strenthle of hand,  
«Shall make you pass out of your country  
«Till all to you abandoned be.  
«Within short time ye shall be king,  
«And have the land to your likeing,

---

<sup>1)</sup> Abiding.



«And overcome your foes all.  
 «But many anoyis thole ye shall,  
 «Or that your purpose end have tane;  
 «But you shall them outdrive ilkane.  
 «And, that ye trow this sekyrly,  
 «My two sons with you shall I  
 «Send to take part of your labour  
 «For I wote well they shall not fail  
 «To be rewarded well at right,  
 «When ye are heyit to your might.»

BARBOUR'S BRUCE, Book IV., p. 120, edited  
by J. Pinkerton, London, 1790.

### Notes XX.

A hunted wanderer on the wild.

St. XXXII. p. 58.

This is not metaphorical. The echoes of Scotland did actually.

——— ring  
With the bloodhounds that bayed for her  
fugitive king.

A very curious and romantic tale is told by Barbour upon this subject, which may be abridged as follows: —

When Bruce had again got footing in Scotland in the spring of 1306, he continued to be in a



very weak and precarious condition, gaining, indeed, occasional advantages, but obliged to fly before his enemies whenever they assembled in force. Upon one occasion, while he was lying with a small party in the wilds of Cumnock, in Ayrshire, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, with his inveterate foe John of Lorn, came against him suddenly with eight hundred highlanders, besides a large body of men at arms. They brought with them a slough-dog, or blood-hound, which, some say, had been once a favourite with the Bruce himself, and therefore was least likely to lose the trace.

Bruce, whose force was under four hundred men, continued to make head against the cavalry, till the men of Lorn had nearly cut off his retreat. Perceiving the danger of his situation, he acted as the celebrated and ill-requited Mina is said to have done in similar circumstances. He divided his force into three parts, appointed a place of rendezvous, and commanded them to retreat by different routes. But when John of Lorn arrived at the spot where they divided, he caused the hound to be put upon the trace, which immediately directed him to the pursuit of that party which Bruce headed. This, therefore, Lorn pursued with his whole force, paying no attention to the others. The king again subdivided his small



body into three parts, and with the same result, for the pursuers attached themselves exclusively to that which he led in person. He then caused his followers to disperse, and retained only his foster-brother in his company. The slough-dog followed the trace, and, neglecting the others, attached himself and his attendants to pursuit of the king. Lorn became convinced that his enemy was nearly in his power, and detached five of his most active attendants to follow him, and interrupt his flight. They did so with all the agility of mountaineers. "What aid wilt thou make?" said Bruce to his single attendant, when he saw the five men gain ground on him. "The best I can," replied his foster-brother. "Then," said Bruce, "here I make my stand." The five pursuers came up fast. The king took three to himself, leaving the other two to his foster-brother. He slew the first who encountered him; but observing his foster-brother hard pressed, he sprung to his assistance, and dispatched one of his assailants. Leaving him to deal with the survivor, he returned upon the other two, both of whom he slew before his foster-brother had dispatched his single antagonist. When this hard encounter was over, with a courtesy, which in the whole work marks Bruce's character, he thanked his foster-brother for his aid. "It likes you to say



so," answered his follower; but you yourself slew four of the five." "True," said the king, "but only because I had better opportunity than you. They were not apprehensive of me when they saw me encounter three, so I had a moment's time to spring to thy aid, and to return equally unexpectedly upon my own opponents."

In the meanwhile Lorn's party approached rapidly, and the king and his foster-brother betook themselves to a neighbouring wood. Here they sat down, for Bruce was exhausted by fatigue, until the cry of the slough-hound came so near, that his foster brother entreated Bruce to provide for his safety by retreating farther. "I have heard," answered the king, "that whosoever will wade a bow-shot length down a running stream, shall make the slough-hound lose scent. — Let us try the experiment, for were yon devilish hound silenced, I should care little for the rest."

Lorn in the meanwhile advanced, and found the bodies of his slain vassals, over whom he made his moan, and threatened the most deadly vengeance. Then he followed the hound to the side of the brook, down which the king had waded a great way. Here the hound was at fault, and John of Lorn, after long attempting in vain to recover Bruce's trace, relinquished the pursuit.



“Others,” says Barbour, “affirm, that upon this occasion the king’s life was saved by an excellent archer who accompanied him, and who perceiving they would be finally taken by means of the blood-hound, hid himself in a thicket, and shot him with an arrow. In which way,” adds the metrical biographer, “this escape happened I am uncertain, but at that brook the king escaped from his pursuers.”

“When the chasers rallied were,  
And John of Lorn had met them there,  
He told Sir Aymer all the case,  
How that the king escaped was,  
And how that he his five men slew,  
And syne to the wood him drew.  
When Sir Aymer heard this, in haste,  
He sained him for the wonder:  
And said, “He is greatly to prise;  
“For I know none that living is,  
“That at mischief can help him so:  
“I trow he should be hard to slay,  
“And he were bodyn<sup>1)</sup> evenly.”  
On this wise spake Sir Aymery.”

BARBOUR’S BRUCE, p. 188.

---

<sup>1)</sup> Matched.



The English historians agree with Barbour as to the mode in which the English pursued Bruce and his followers, and the dexterity with which he evaded them. The following is the testimony of Harding, a great enemy to the Scottish nation : —

„The King Edward with host hym sought full  
sore,

But aye he fled into woodes and strayte forest,  
And slew his men at staytes and dangers those,  
And at marreys and mires was ay full prest  
Englishmen to kyll without any rest;  
In the mountaynes and cragghe he slew ay where,  
And in the nyght his foes he frayed full sore :

The King Edward with hornes and houndes him  
sought,

With men on fote, through marris, mosse,  
and myre,

Through wodes also, and mountains (wher  
thei fought,)

And euer the Kyng Edward hight men greathyre,  
Hym for to take and by myght conquere;  
But thei might hym not gette by force ne by  
train,

He satte by the fyre when thei were in the rain.

HARDYNG'S Chronicle, p. 303, 4.



Peter Longtoft has also a passage concerning the extremities to which King Robert was reduced, which he entitles.

*De Roberto Brus et fuga circum circa fit.*

„And well I understood that the King Robyn  
Has drunken of that blood the drink of Dan,  
Waryn.

Dan Waryn he les towns that he held,  
With he made a res, and misberying of scheld.  
Sithen into the forest he gede naked and wode,  
Also a wild beast, eat of the grass that stood.  
Thus Dan Waryn in his book men read,  
God give the King Robyn, that all his kind  
so speed.

Sir Robynet the Brus he durst none abide,  
That they made him restus, bath in moor and  
wood-side,  
To while he made his train, and did umwhile  
outrage.”

PETER LANGTOFT'S Chronicle, vol. II. p 336,  
octavo, London, 1810.

---



## NOTES TO CANTO THIRD.

### N o t e I.

For, glad of each pretext for spoil,  
A pirate sworn was Cormac Doil.

St. IV. p. 66.

A sort of persons common in the isles, as may be easily believed, until the introduction of civil polity. Witness the Dean of the Isles' account of Ronay. "At the north end of Raarsay, be half myle of sea frae it, layes ane ile callit Ronay, maire then a myle in lengthe, full of wood and heddir, with ane havin for heiland galeys in the middis of it, and the same havein is guid for fostering of theives, ruggairs, and reivairs, till a nail, upon the peilling and spulzeing of poor pepill. This ile perteins to M'Gillychallan of Raarsay by force, and to the



bishope of the iles be heritage." — Sir DONALD MONRO's Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1805, p. 22.

N o t e II.

«Alas! dear youth, the unhappy time,»  
Answer'd the Bruce, «must bear the crime,  
Since, guiltier far than you,  
Even I» — he paused; for Falkirk's woes  
Upon his conscious soul arose.

St. VII. p. 68.

I have followed the vulgar and inaccurate tradition, that Bruce fought against Wallace, and the array of Scotland, at the fatal battle of Falkirk. The story, which seems to have no better authority than that of Blind Harry, bears, that having made much slaughter during the engagement, he sat down to dine with the conquerors without washing the filthy witness from his hands.

Fasting he was, and had been in great need,  
Blooded were all his weapons and his weed;  
Southeron lords scorn'd him in terms rude,  
And said, Behold yon Scot eats his own blood.



Then rued he sore, for reason had he known,  
That blood and land alike should be his own;  
With them he long was, ere he got away,  
But contrair Scots, he fought not from that day.

The account given by most of our historians, of the conversation between Bruce and Wallace over the Carron river, is equally apocryphal.

There is full evidence that Bruce was not at that time on the English side, nor present at the battle of Falkirk; nay, that he acted as a guardian of Scotland, along with John Comyn, in the name of Baliol, and in opposition to the English. He was the grandson of the competitor, with whom he has been sometimes confounded. Lord Hailes has well described, and in some degree apologized for, the earlier part of his life.

“His grandfather, the competitor, had patiently acquiesced in the award of Edward. His father, yielding to the times, had served under the English banners. But young Bruce had more ambition, and a more restless spirit. In his earlier years he acted upon no regular plan. By turns the partizan of Edward, and the vicerent of Baliol, he seems to have forgotten or stifled his pretensions to the crown. But his



character developed itself by degrees, and in maturer age became firm and consistent." — Annals of Scotland, p. 290, quarto, London, 1776.

### NOTE III.

These are the savage wilds that lie  
North of Strathnardill and Dunskey.

St. XI. p. 72.

The extraordinary piece of scenery which I have here attempted to describe, is, I think, unparalleled in any part of Scotland, at least in any which I have happened to visit. It lies just upon the frontier of the Laird of Mac-Leod's country, which is thereabouts divided from the estate of Mr Maccallister of Strath-Aird, called Strathnardill by the Dean of the Isles. The following account of it is extracted from a journal kept during a tour through the Scottish islands: —

«The western coast of Sky is highly romantic, and at the same time displays a richness of vegetation in the lower grounds to which we have hitherto been strangers. We passed three east-water lochs, or deep embayments, called



Loch Bracadale, Loch Einort, and Loch —, and about 11 o'clock opened Loch Slavig. We were now under the western termination of the high ridge of mountains called Cuillen, or Quillin, or Coolin, whose weather-beaten and serrated peaks we had admired at a distance from Dunvegan. They sunk here upon the sea, but with the same bold and peremptory aspect which their distant appearance indicated. They appeared to consist of precipitous sheets of naked rock, down which the torrents were leaping in a hundred lines of foam. The tops of the ridge, apparently inaccessible to human foot, were rent and split into the most tremendous pinnacles. Towards the base of these bare and precipitous crags, the ground, enriched by the soil washed down from them, is comparatively verdant and productive. Where we passed within the small isle of Soa, we entered Loch Slavig, under the shoulder of one of these grisly mountains, and observed that the opposite side of the loch was of a milder character, the mountains being softened down into steep green declivities. From the bottom of the bay advanced a headland of high rocks, which divided its depth into two recesses, from each of which a brook issued. Here it had been intimated to us we would find some romantic scenery; but



we were uncertain up which inlet we should proceed in search of it. We chose, against our better judgment, the southerly dip of the bay, where we saw a house which might afford us information. We found, upon enquiry, that there is a lake adjoining to each branch of the bay; and walked a couple of miles to see that near the farm-house, merely because the honest highlander seemed jealous of the honour of his own loch, though we were speedily convinced it was not that which we were recommended to examine. It had no particular merit, excepting from its neighbourhood to a very high cliff, or precipitous mountain, otherwise the sheet of water had nothing differing from any ordinary low-country lake. We returned and reimbarked in our boat, for our guide shook his head at our proposal to climb over the peninsula, or rocky head-land which divided the two lakes. In rowing round the head-land, we were surprised at the infinite number of sea-fowl, then busy apparently with a shoal of fish.

«Arrived at the depth of the bay, we found that the discharge from this second lake forms a sort of water-fall, or rather a rapid stream, which rushes down to the sea with great fury and precipitation. Round this place were as-



sembled hundreds of trouts and salmon, struggling to get up into the fresh water: with a net we might have had twenty salmon at a haul; and a sailor, with no better hook than a crooked pin, caught a dish of trouts during our absence. Advancing up this huddling and riotous brook, we found ourselves in a most extraordinary scene; we lost sight of the sea almost immediately after we had climbed over a low ridge of crags, and were surrounded by mountains of naked rock, of the boldest and most precipitous character. The ground on which we walked was the margin of a lake, which seemed to have sustained the constant ravage of torrents from these rude neighbours. The shores consisted of huge strata of naked granite, here and there intermixed with bogs, and heaps of gravel and sand piled in the empty water-courses. Vegetation there was little or none; and the mountains rose so perpendicularly from the water-edge, that Borrowdale, or even Glencoe, is a jest to them. We proceeded a mile and a half up this deep, dark, and solitary lake, which was about two miles long, half a mile broad, and is, as we learned, of extreme depth. The murky vapours which enveloped the mountain ridges, obliged us by assuming a thousand varied shapes, changing their drapery into all sorts



of forms, and sometimes clearing off all together. It is true, the mist made us pay the penalty by some heavy and downright showers, from the frequency of which, a Highland boy, whom we brought from the farm, told us the lake was popularly called the Water-kettle. The proper name is Loch Corriskin, from the deep corrie, or hollow, in the mountains of Cuilin, which affords the basin for this wonderful sheet of water. It is as exquisite a savage scene as Loch Katrine is a scene of romantic beauty. After having penetrated so far as distinctly to observe the termination of the lake, under an immense precipice, which rises abruptly from the water, we returned, and often stopped to admire the ravages which storms must have made in these recesses, where all human witnesses were driven to places of more shelter and security. Stones, or rather large masses and fragments of rocks of a composite kind, perfectly different from the strata of the lake, were scattered upon the bare rocky beach, in the strangest and most precarious situations, as if abandoned by the torrents which had borne them down from above. Some lay loose and tottering upon the ledges of the natural rock, with so little security, that the slightest push moved them, though their weight might exceed many tons.



These detached rocks, or stones, were chiefly what is called plum-pudding stones. The bare rocks, which formed the shore of the lakes, were a species of granite. The opposite side of the lake seemed quite pathless and inaccessible, as a huge mountain, one of the detached ridges of the Cuillen hills, sinks in a profound and perpendicular precipice down to the water. On the left-hand side, which we traversed, rose an higher and equally inaccessible mountain, the top of which strongly resembled the shivered crater of an exhausted volcano. I never saw a spot in which there was less appearance of vegetation of any kind. The eye rested on nothing but barren and naked crags, and the rocks on which we walked by the side of the loch, were as bare as the pavements of Cheapside. There are one or two small islets in the loch, which seem to bear juniper, or some such low bushy shrub. Upon the whole, though I have seen many scenes of more extensive desolation, I never witnessed any in which it pressed more deeply upon the eye and the heart than at Loch Corisken; at the same time that its grandeur elevated and redeemed it from the wild and dreary character of utter barrenness."



## Note IV.

Men were they all of evil mien,

Down-looked, unwilling to be seen.

St. XIX. p. 79.

The story of Bruce's meeting the banditti is copied, with such alterations as the fictitious narrative rendered necessary, from a striking incident in the monarch's history, told by Barbour, and which I shall give in the words of the hero's biographer, only modernizing the orthography. It is the sequel to the adventure of the blood-hound, narrated in Note XIX. upon Canto II. It will be remembered that the narrative broke off, leaving the Bruce escaped from his pursuers, but worn out with fatigue, and having no other attendant but his foster-brother.

And the good king held forth his way,  
Betwixt him and his man, while they  
Passed out through the forest were;  
Syne in the moor they entered there,  
It was both high, and long, and broad;  
And or they half it passed had,  
They saw on side three men coming,  
Like to light men, and wavering.



Swords they had, and axes also;  
 And one of them, upon his hals <sup>1)</sup>  
 A mekill bounden weather bore.  
 They meet the king, and halsed <sup>2)</sup> him there.  
 And the king them their haulsing yauld; <sup>3)</sup>  
 And asked whether they would?  
 They said, Robert the Bruce they sought;  
 For meet with him giff that they might,  
 Their duelling with him would they ma'. <sup>4)</sup>  
 The king said, "Giff that ye will see,  
 Hold furth your way with me,  
 And I shall make you soon him see."  
 They perceived, by his speaking,  
 That he was the self-same Robert King,  
 And changed countenance, and late; <sup>5)</sup>  
 And held nought in the first state.  
 For they were foes to the king,  
 And thought to come into skulking;  
 And dwell with him, while that they saw  
 Their point, and bring him thereof daw. <sup>6)</sup>

---

1) Neck.

2) Saluted.

3) Returned their salute.

4) Make.

5) Gesture or manner.

6) Kill him.



They granted till his speech forthy,<sup>1)</sup>  
But the king, that was witty,  
Perceived well, by their having,  
That they loved him nothing.  
And said, «Fellows, you must all three,  
Further acquaint till that we be,  
All be your selven furth go.  
And on the same wish we two  
Shall follow behind, well near.»  
Quoth they, «Sir, it is no mister<sup>2)</sup>  
To trow in us any ill.»  
«None do I,» said he; «but I will  
That ye go forth thus, while we  
Better with other knowen be.»  
«We grant,» they said, «since ye will so.»  
And forth upon their gate gan go.  
Thus went they till the night was near,  
And then the foremost coming were  
Till a waste husband-house;<sup>3)</sup> and there  
They slew the weather that they bear,  
And struck fire to roast their meat;  
And asked the king if he would eat,

---

1) Therefore.

2) There is no need.

3) Husbandman's house, cottage.



And rest him till the meat was dight.  
The king, that hungry was, I hight,  
Assented to their speech in hy,  
But he said he would anerly <sup>1)</sup>  
At a fire, and they all three  
On no wise with them together be.  
In the end of the house they should ma'  
Another fire: and they did sua.  
They drew them in the house end,  
And half the weather till him send.  
And they roasted in haste their meat,  
And fell right freshly for to eat.  
For the king well long fasted had;  
And had right much travel made:  
Therefore he eat full egrely.  
And when he had eaten hastily,  
He had to sleep so mekill will,  
That he might set no let theretill.  
For when the wames <sup>2)</sup> filled are,  
Men worthys <sup>3)</sup> heavy evermore;  
And to sleep draws heavyness.

---

1) Alone.

2) Bellies.

3) Becomes.



The king, that all for-travelled <sup>1)</sup> was,  
Saw that him worthy sleep need was;  
Till his fostyr-brother he says,  
"May I trust in thee, me to wake,  
Till I a little sleeping take?"  
"Ya, sir," he said, "till I may dree." <sup>2)</sup>  
The king then winked a little way,  
And slept not full entirely;  
But glanced up oft suddenly,  
For he had dread of these three men,  
That at the t' other fire were then.  
That they his foes were he wyst;  
Therefore he slept, as fowll on twist. <sup>3)</sup>  
The king slept but a little than,  
When sic sleep fell on his man,  
That he might not hold up his eye,  
But fell in sleep and routed high.  
Now is the king in great perille:  
For sleep he so a little while,  
He shall be dead, forouten dreid,  
For the three traitors took good heed,

---

1) Fatigued.

2) Endure.

3) Bird on bough.



That he on sleep was, and his man:  
In full great haste they raise up than,  
And drew their swords hastily;  
And went towards the king in hy,  
When that they saw him sleep sua,  
And sleeping thought they would him slay.  
The king upblinked hastily,  
And saw his man sleeping him by,  
And saw coming the t' other three.  
Quickly on foot got he;  
And drew his sword out, and them met.  
And as he went his foot he set  
Upon his man well heavily.  
He wakened, and rose dizzely,  
For the sleep mastered him so,  
That or he got up ane of tho  
That came for to slay the king,  
Gave him a stroke in his rising,  
So that he might help him no more.  
The king so straitly stad <sup>1)</sup> was there,  
That he was never yet so stad.  
No were the arming <sup>2)</sup> that he had,  
He had been dead, forouten mair.  
But not forthy <sup>3)</sup> on such manner.

---

1) So securely situated.

2) Had it not been for the armour he wore.

3) Nevertheless.



He helped him, in that bargain, <sup>1)</sup>  
 That the three traitors he has slain,  
 Through God's grace, and his manhood.  
 His foster-brother there was dead.  
 Then was he wondre will off wayne, <sup>2)</sup>  
 When he saw him left alone.  
 His fostyr-brother lamented he,  
 And waryet <sup>3)</sup> all the t' other three.  
 And syne his way took him alone,  
 And right towards his tryst <sup>4)</sup> is gone.

THE BRUCE, Book VII. line 105.

### Note V.

And mermaid's alabaster grot,  
 Who bathes her limbs in sunless well,  
 Deep in Strathaird's enchanted cell.

St. XXVIII. p. 88.

Imagination can hardly conceive any thing

---

1) Fray or dispute.

2) Much afflicted.

3) Cursed.

4) The place of rendezvous appointed for his soldiers



more beautiful than the extraordinary grotto discovered not many years since upon the estate of Alexander Mac-Allister, Esq. of Strathaird. It has since been much and deservedly celebrated, and a full account of its beauties has been published by Dr Mac-Leay of Oban. The general impression may perhaps be gathered from the following extract from a journal already quoted, which, written under the feelings of the moment, is likely to be more accurate than any attempt to recollect the impressions then received.

“The first entrance to this celebrated cave is rude and unpromising; but the light of the torches, with which we were provided, was soon reflected from the roof, floor, and walls, which seem as if they were sheeted with marble, partly smooth, partly rough with frost-work and rustic ornaments, and partly seeming to be wrought into statuary. The floor forms a steep and difficult ascent, and might be fancifully compared to a sheet of water, which, while it rushed whitening and foaming down a declivity, had been suddenly arrested and consolidated by the spell of an enchanter. Upon attaining the summit of this ascent, the cave opens into a splendid gallery, adorned with the most dazzling crystallizations, and finally descends with



rapidity to the brink of a pool, of the most limpid water, about four or five yards broad. There opens beyond this pool a portal arch, formed by two columns of white spar, with beautiful chasing upon the sides, which promises a continuation of the cave. One of our sailors swam across, for there is no other mode of passing, and informed us (as indeed we partly saw by the light he carried) that the enchantment of Maccalister's cave terminates with this portal, a little beyond which there was only a rude cavern, speedily choked with stones and earth. But the pool, on the brink of which we stood, surrounded by the most fanciful mouldings, in a substance resembling white marble, and distinguished by the depth and purity of its waters, might have been the bathing grotto of a naiad. The groups of combined figures projecting, or embossed, by which the pool is surrounded, are exquisitely elegant and fanciful. A statuary might catch beautiful hints from the singular and romantic disposition of those stalactites. There is scarce a form, or group, on which active fancy may not trace figures or grotesque ornaments, which have been gradually moulded in this cavern by the dropping of the calcareous water hardening into petrifications. Many of those fine groupes have



been injured by the senseless rage of appropriation of recent tourists; and the grotto has lost, (I am informed,) through the smoke of torches, something of that vivid silver tint which was originally one of its chief distinctions. But enough of beauty remains to compensate for all that may be lost." — Mr Mac-Allister of Strathaird, has, with great propriety, built up the exterior entrance to this cave, in order that strangers may enter properly attended by a guide, to prevent any repetition of the wanton and selfish injury which this singular scene has already sustained.



## NOTES TO CANTO FOURTH.

### N o t e I.

Yet to no sense of selfish wrongs,  
 Bear witness with me Heaven, belongs  
 My joy o'er Edward's bier.

St. IV. p. 98.

THE generosity which does justice to the character of an enemy, often marks Bruce's sentiments, as recorded by the faithful Barbour. He seldom mentions a fallen enemy without praising such good qualities as he might possess. I shall only take one instance. Shortly after Bruce landed in Carrick, in 1306, Sir Ingram Bell, the English governor of Ayr, engaged



a wealthy yeoman, who had hitherto been a follower of Bruce, to undertake the task of assassinating him. The king learned this treachery, as he is said to have done other secrets of the enemy, by means of a female with whom he had an intrigue. Shortly after he was possessed of this information, Bruce, resorting to a small thicket at a distance from his men, with only a single page to attend him, met the traitor, accompanied by two of his sons. They approached him with their wonted familiarity, but Bruce, taking his page's bow and arrow, commanded them to keep at a distance. As they still pressed forward with professions of zeal for his person and service, he, after a second warning, shot the father with the arrow; and being assaulted successively by the two sons, dispatched first one, who was armed with an axe, then as the other charged him with a spear, avoided the thrust, struck the head from the spear, and cleft the skull of the assassin with a blow of his two handed sword.

He rushed down of blood all red,  
And when the king saw they were dead,  
All three lying, he wiped his brand.  
With that his boy come fast running,



And said, 'Our lord might lowyt <sup>1)</sup> be,  
'That granted you might and poweste <sup>2)</sup>  
'To fell the felony and the pride,  
'Of three in so little tide.'  
The king said, 'So our lord me see,  
'They have been worthy men all three,  
'Had they not been full of treason:  
'But that made their confusion.' "

BARBOUR'S BRUCE, Book V. p. 152.

### N o t e II.

Such hate was his on Solway's strand,  
When vengeance clench'd his palsied hand,  
That pointed yet to Scotland's land.

St. IV. p. 98.

To establish his dominion in Scotland had been a favourite object of Edward's ambition, and nothing could exceed the pertinacity with which he pursued it, unless his inveterate resentment against the insurgents, who so fre-

---

1) Lauded.

2) Power.



quently broke the English yoke when he deemed it most firmly rivetted. After the battles of Falkirk and Methven, and the dreadful examples which he had made of Wallace and other champions of national independence, he probably concluded every chance of insurrection was completely annihilated. This was in 1306, when Bruce, as we have seen, was utterly expelled from Scotland: yet, in the conclusion of the same year, Bruce was again in arms and formidable; and in 1307, Edward, though exhausted by a long and wasting malady, put himself at the head of the army destined to destroy him utterly. This was, perhaps, partly in consequence of a vow which he had taken upon him, with all the pomp of chivalry, upon the day in which he dubbed his son a knight, for which see a subsequent note. But even his spirit of vengeance was unable to restore his exhausted strength. He reached Burgh-upon-Sands, a petty village of Cumberland, on the shores of the Solway Firth, and there, 6th July, 1307, expired in sight of the detested and devoted country of Scotland. His dying injunctions to his son required to him continue the Scottish war, and never to recall Gaveston. Edward II. disobeyed both charges. Yet more to mark his animosity, the dying monarch ordered his bones to be carried



with the invading army. Froissart, who probably has the authority of eye-witnesses, has given us the following account of this remarkable charge: —

In the said forest, the old king Robert of Scotland dyd kepe hymselfe, whan King Edward the Fyrst conquered nygh all Scotland; for he was so often chased, that none durst loge him in castell, nor fortresse, for feare of the said kyng.

«And ever whan the king was returned into England, than he would gather together agayn his people, and conquere townes, castells; and fortresses, iuste to Berwick, some by battle, and some by fair speech and love: and when the said King Edward heard thereof, than would he assemble his power, and wyn the realme of Scotland again; thus the chance went between these two foresaid kings. It was shewed me, how that this King Robert wan and lost his realme v. times. So this continued till the said King Edward died at Berwick: and when he saw that he should die, he called before him his eldest son, who was king after him, and there, before all the barones, he caused him to swear, that as soon as he were dead, that he should take his body, and boyle it in a cauldron, till the flesh departed clean from the



bones, and than to bury the flesh, and keep still the bones; and that as often as the Scotts should rebell against him, he should assemble the people against them, and carry with him the bones of his father, for he believed verily, that if they had his bones with them, that the Scotts should never attain any victory against them. The which thing was not accomplished, for when the King died his son carried him to London." — BERNERS' FROISSART'S Chronicle, London, 1812, pp. 39, 40.

Edward's commands were not obeyed, for he was interred in Westminster-Abbey, with the appropriate inscription: — "EDWARDUS PRIMUS SCOTORUM MALLEUS, HIC EST. PACTUM SERVA." Ye some steps seem to have been taken toward rendering his body capable of occasional transportation, for it was exquisitely embalmed, as was ascertained when his tomb was opened some years ago. Edward II. judged wisely in not carrying the dead body of his father into Scotland, since he would not obey his living counsils.

It ought to be observed, that though the order of the incidents is reserved in the poem, yet, in point of historical accuracy, Bruce had landed in Scotland, and obtained some suc-



cesses of consequence, before the death of Edward I.

**Note III.**

— Canna's tower, that, steep and grey,  
Like falcon-nest o'erhangs the bay.

St. VIII. p. 102.

The little island of Canna, or Cannay, adjoins to those of Rum and Muick, with which it forms one parish. In a pretty bay opening towards the east, there is a lofty and slender rock detached from the shore. Upon the summit are the ruins of a very small tower, scarcely accessible by a steep and precipitous path. Here it is said one of the kings, or Lords of the Isles, confined a beautiful lady, of whom he was jealous. The ruins are of course haunted by her restless spirit, and many romantic stories are told by the aged people of the island concerning her fate in life, and her appearances after death.



## Note IV.

And Ronin's mountains dark have sent  
Their hunters to the shore.

St. IX. p. 108.

Ronin (popularly called Rum, a name which a poet may be pardoned for avoiding if possible) is a very rough and mountainous island, adjacent to those of Eigg and Cannay. There is almost no arable ground upon it, so that, except in the plenty of the deer, which of course are now nearly extirpated, it still deserves the description bestowed by the archdean of the Isles.

“Ronin, sixteen myle north-wast from the ile of Coll, lyes ane ile callit Ronin Ile, of sixteen myle long, and six in bredthe in the narrowest, ane forest of heigh mountains, and abundance of little deire in it, quhilk deir will never be slane dounewith, but the principal saittis man be in the height of the hill, because the deir will be callit upwart ay be the tainchell, or without tynched they will pass upwart perforce. In this ile will be gotten about Britane als many wild nests upon the plane mure as men pleasis to gadder, and yet by resson the fowls hes few to start them except deir. This iyle



lyes from the west to the east in length, and pertains to M'Kenabrey of Colla. Many solan geese are in this ile." — MONRO'S Description of the Western Isles, p. 18.

### NOTE V.

On Scooreigg next a warning light  
Summon'd the warriors to the fight;  
A numerous race, ere stern Macleod  
N'er their bleak shores in vengeance strode.

St. IX. p. 104.

These, and the following lines of the stanza, refer to a dreadful tale of feudal vengeance, of which unfortunately there are reliques that still attest the truth. Scoor-Eigg is a high peak in the centre of the small isle of Eigg, or Egg. It is well known to mineralogists, as affording many interesting specimens, and to others whom chance or curiosity may lead to the island, for the astonishing view of the main-land and neighbouring isles, which it commands. I shall again avail myself of the journal I have quoted.

"26th August, 1814. — At seven this morning we were in the sound which divides the isle



of Rum from that of Egg. The latter, although hilly and rocky, and traversed by a remarkably high and barren ridge, called Scoor-Rigg, has, in point of soil, a much more promising appearance. Southward of both lies the Isle of Muich, or Muck, a low and fertile island, and though the least, yet probably the most valuable of the three. We manned the boat, and rowed along the shore of Egg in quest of a cavern, which had been the memorable scene of a horrid feudal vengeance. We had rounded more than half the island, admiring the entrance of many a bold natural cave, which its rocks exhibited, without finding that which we sought, until we procured a guide. Nor, indeed, was it surprising that it should have escaped the search of strangers, as there are no outward indications more than might distinguish the entrance of a fox-earth. This noted cave has a very narrow opening, through which one can hardly creep on his knees and hands. It rises steep and lofty within, and runs into the bowels of the rock to the depth of 255 measured feet; the height at the entrance may be about three feet, but rises within to eighteen or twenty, and the breadth may vary in the same proportion. The rude and stoney bottom of this cave is strewn with the bones of men, women, and



children, the sad reliques of the ancient inhabitants of the island, 200 in number, who were slain on the following occasion: — The Mac-Donalds of the Isle of Egg, a people dependent on Clan-Ronald, had done some injury to the Laird of Macleod. The tradition of the isle says, that it was by a personal attack on the chieftain, in which his back was broken. But that of the other isles bears, more probably, that the injury was offered to two or three of the Mac-Leods, who, landing upon Eigg, and using some freedom with the young women, were seized by the islanders, bound hand and foot, and turned adrift in a boat, which the winds and waves safely conducted to Skye. To avenge the offence given, Mac-Leod sailed with such a body of men, as rendered resistance hopeless. The natives, fearing his vengeance, concealed themselves in this cavern, and, after a strict search, the Mac-Leods went on board their gallies, after doing what mischief they could, concluding the inhabitants had left the isle, and betaken themselves to the Long Island, or some of Clan-Ronald's other possessions. But next morning they espied from the vessels a man upon the island, and immediately landing again, they traced his retreat by the marks of his footsteps, a light snow being unhappily on



the ground. Mac-Leod then surrounded the cavern, summoned the subterranean garrison, and demanded that the individuals who had offended him should be delivered up to him. This was peremptorily refused. The chieftain then caused his people to divert the course of a rill of water, which, falling over the entrance of the cave, would have prevented his purposed vengeance. He then kindled at the entrance of the cavern a huge fire, composed of turf and fern, and maintained it with unrelenting assiduity, until all within were destroyed by suffocation. The date of this dreadful deed must have been recent, if one may judge from the fresh appearance of those reliques. I brought off, in spite of the prejudice of our sailors, a skull from among the numerous specimens of mortality which the cavern afforded. Before reimbarking we visited another cave, opening to the sea, but of a character entirely different, being a large open vault as high as that of a cathedral, and running back a great way into the rock at the same height. The height and width of the opening gives ample light to the whole. Here, after 1745, when the catholic priests were scarcely tolerated, the priest of Eigg used to perform the Roman catholic service, most of the islanders being of that per-



suasion. A huge ledge of rocks rising about half way up one side of the vault, served for altar and pulpit; and the appearance of a priest and highland congregation in such an extraordinary place of worship, might have engaged the pencil of Salvator."

### N o t e VI.

— the group of islets gay

That guard famed Staffa round.

St. X. p. 105.

It would be unpardonable to detain the reader upon a wonder so often described, and yet so incapable of being understood by description. This palace of Neptune is even grander upon a second than the first view. The stupendous columns which form the sides of the cave, the depth and strength of the tide which rolls its deep and heavy swell up to the extremity of the vault — the variety of tints formed by white, crimson, and yellow stalactites, or petrifications, which occupy the vacancies between the base of the broken pillars which form the roof, and intersect them with a rich, curious, and variegated chasing, occupying each interstice — the



corresponding variety below water, where the ocean rolls over a dark-red or violet-coloured rock, from which, as from a base, the basaltic columns arise — the tremendous noise of the swelling tide, mingling with the deep-toned echoes of the vault, — are circumstances elsewhere unparalleled.

Nothing can be more interesting than the varied appearance of the little archipelago of islets, of which Staffa is the most remarkable. This group, called in Gaelic Tresharnish, affords a thousand varied views to the voyager, as they appear in different positions with reference to his course. The variety of their shape contributes much to the beauty of these effects.

#### NOTE VII.

Scenes sung by him who sings no more!

St. XI. p. 106.

The ballad, entitled «Macphail of Colonsay, and the Mermaid of Corrievrekin,» was composed by John Leyden, from a tradition which he found while making a tour through the Hebrides about 1801, soon before his fatal departure for India, where, after having made farther progress in



oriental literature than any man of letters who had embraced these studies, he died a martyr to his zeal for knowledge, in the island of Java, immediately after the landing of our forces near Batavia, in September, 1811.

### Note VIII.

Up Tarbat's western lake they bore,

Then dragg'd their bark the isthmus o'er.

St. XII. p. 107.

The peninsula of Cantire is joined to South Knapdale by a very narrow isthmus, formed by the western and eastern Loch of Tarbat. These two salt-water lakes, or bays, encroach so far upon the land, and the extremities come so near to each other, that there is not above a mile of land to divide them.

“It is not long,” says Pennant, “since vessels of nine or ten tons were drawn by horses out of the west loch into that of the east, to avoid the dangers of the Mull of Cantyre, so dreaded and so little known was the navigation round that promontory. It is the opinion of many, that these little isthmuses, so frequently styled Tarbat



in North Britain, took their name from the above circumstance; Tarruing, signifying to draw, and Bata, a boat. This too might be called, by way of pre-eminence, the Tarbat, from a very singular circumstance related by Torfœus. When Magnus, the bare-footed King of Norway, obtained from Donald-bane of Scotland the cession of the western isles, or all those places that could be surrounded in a boat, he added to them the peninsula of Cantyre by this fraud: he placed himself in the stern of a boat, held the rudder, was drawn over this narrow track, and by this species of navigation wrested the country from his brother monarch. — PENNANT'S Scotland, London, 1790, p. 190.

But that Bruce also made this passage, although at a period two or three years later than in the poem, appears from the evidence of Barbour, who mentions also the effect produced upon the minds of the highlanders, from the prophecies current amongst them: —

“But to King Robert will we gang,  
That we have left unspoken of lang.  
When he had convoyed to the sea  
His brother Edward, and his menyie,



And other men of great noblay,  
To Tarbat they held their way,  
In galleys ordained for their fare,  
But them worth <sup>1)</sup> draw their ships there,  
And a mile was betwixt the seas,  
And that was lompnyt <sup>2)</sup> all with trees.  
The king his ships there gert <sup>3)</sup> draw  
And for the wind couth <sup>4)</sup> stoutly blaw  
Upon their back, as they would ga,  
He gert men rops and masts ta,  
And set them in the ships high,  
And sails to the tops tye;  
And gert men gang thereby drawing.  
The wind them help'd that was blowing,  
So that, in little space,  
Their fleet all over drawn was.

And when they that in the isles were,  
Heard tell how the king had there,  
Gart <sup>5)</sup> his ships with sails go  
Out over betwixt Tarbat two,

---

1) Were obliged to.

2) Supposed entangled.

3) Caused.

4) Could.

5) Caused.



They were abaysit <sup>1)</sup> so utterly.  
For they wist, through old prophecy,  
That he that should gar <sup>2)</sup> ships so  
Betwixt the seas with sails go,  
Should win the isles so till hand,  
That none with strength should him withstand.  
Therefore they come all to the king.  
Was none withstood his bidding,  
Owtakyn <sup>3)</sup> Johne of Lorne alane.  
But well soon after was he taen;  
And present right to the king.  
And they there were of his leading,  
That till the king had broken fay, <sup>4)</sup>  
Were all dead, and destroyed away."

BARBOUR'S Bruce, vol. III. Book XV. pp. 14, 15.

### N o t e IX.

The sun, ere yet he sunk behind  
Ben-ghoil, «the Mountain of the Wind,"

---

1) Confounded.

2) Make.

3) Escaped.

4) Faith.



Gave his grim peaks a greeting kind,  
And bade Loch-Ranza smile.

St. XIII. p. 108.

Loch-Ranza is a beautiful bay, on the northern extremity of Arran, opening towards East Tarbat Loch. It is well described by Pennant.

“The approach was magnificent: a fine bay in front, about a mile deep, having a ruined castle near the lower end, on a low far-projecting neck of land, that forms another harbour, with a narrow passage; but within has three fathom of water, even at the lowest ebb. Beyond is a little plain watered by a stream, and inhabited by the people of a small village. The whole is environed with a theatre of mountains; and in the back-ground the serrated crags of Grianan-Athol soar above.” — PENNANT’S Tour to the Western Isles, p. 191, 2.

Ben-Ghaoil, “the mountain of the winds,” is generally known by its English, and less poetical name, of Goatfield.



## N o t e X.

Each to Loch-Ranza's margin spring;  
That blast was winded by the King!

St. XVIII. p. 113

The passage in Barbour, describing the landing of Bruce, and his being recognized by Douglas and those of his followers who had preceded him, by the sound of his horn, is in the original singularly simple and affecting. — The king arrived in Arran with thirty-three small row-boats. He interrogated a female if there had arrived any warlike men of late in that country. "Surely, sir," she replied, "I can tell you of many who lately came hither, discomfited the English governor, and blockaded his castle of Brodick. They maintain themselves in a wood at no great distance." The king, truly conceiving that this must be Douglas and his followers, who had lately set forth to try their fortune in Arran, desired the woman to conduct him to the wood. She obeyed.

"The king then blew his horn on high;  
And gert his men that were him by,



Hold them still, and all privy;  
And syne again his horne blew he.  
James of Dowglas heard him blow,  
And at the last alone gan know,  
And said, 'Soothly yon is the king;  
,I know long while since his blowing.'  
The third time therewithall he blew,  
And then Sir Robert Boid it knew;  
And said, ,Yon is the king, but dread,  
,Go we forth till him, better speed.'  
Then went they till the king in hye,  
And him inclined courteously.  
And blithly welcomed them the king,  
And was joyful of their meeting,  
And kissed them; and speared <sup>1)</sup> syne  
How they had fared in hunting?  
And they him told all, but lesing: <sup>2)</sup>  
Syne laud they God of their meeting.  
Syne with the king till his harbourye  
Went both joyful and jolly."

BARBOUR'S Bruce, Book V. p. 115, 16.

---

1) Asked.

2) Without lying.



## Notes XI.

— his brother blamed,  
But shared the weakness, while ashamed,  
With haughty laugh his head he turn'd,  
And dash'd away the tear he scorn'd.

St. XX. p. 115.

The kind, and yet fiery character of Edward Bruce, is well painted by Barbour, in the account of his behaviour after the battle of Bannockburn. Sir Walter Ross, one of the very few Scottish nobles who fell in that battle, was so dearly beloved by Edward, that he wished the victory had been lost, so Ross had lived.

Out-taken him, men has not seen  
Where he for any men made moaning.

And here the venerable arch-deacon intimates a piece of scandal. Sir Edward Bruce, it seems, loved Ross's sister, per amours, to the neglect of his own lady, sister to David de Strathbogie, Earl of Athole. This criminal passion had evil consequences; for, in resentment of the affront



done to his sister, Athole attacked the guard which Bruce had left at Cambuskenneth, during the battle of Bannockburn, to protect his magazine of provisions, and slew Sir William Keith the commander. For which treason he was forfeited.

In like manner, when in a sally from Carrickfergus, Neil Fleming, and the guards whom he commanded, had fallen, after the protracted resistance which saved the rest of Edward Bruce's army, he made such moan as surprised his followers :

“Sic moan he made men had ferly,<sup>1)</sup>  
 For he was not customably  
 Wont for to moan men any thing,  
 Nor would not hear men make moaning.”

Such are the nice traits of character so often lost in general history.

---

<sup>1)</sup> Wonder.



## Note XII.

Thou heard'st a wretched female plain,  
In agony of travail-pain,  
And thou didst bid thy little band  
Upon the instant turn and stand.

St. XXVII. p. 121.

This incident, which illustrates so happily the chivalrous generosity of Bruce's character, is one of the many simple and natural traits recorded by Barbour. It occurred during the expedition which Bruce made to Ireland, to support the pretensions of his brother Edward to the throne of that kingdom. Bruce was about to retreat, and his host was arrayed for moving.

“The king has heard a woman cry,  
He asked, what that was in hy. <sup>1)</sup>  
, It is the layndar, <sup>2)</sup> sir,’ sai ane,  
, That her child-ill <sup>3)</sup> right now has ta'en:

---

1) Haste.

2) Laundress.

3) Child-bed.



, And must leave now behind us here.  
, Therefore she makes an evil cheer.' <sup>1)</sup>  
The king said , Certes, <sup>2)</sup> it were pity  
, That she in that point left should be,  
, For certes I trow there is no man  
, That he no will rue <sup>3)</sup> a woman than.'  
His hosts all there arested he,  
And gert a tent soon stintit <sup>4)</sup> be,  
And gert her gang in hastily,  
And other women to be her by.  
While she was deliyered he bade;  
And syne forth on his ways rade.  
And how she forth should carried be,  
Or he forth fure, <sup>5)</sup> ordained he.  
This was a full great courtesy,  
That swilk a king and so mighty,  
Gert his men dwell on this manner,  
But for a poor lavender."

BARBOUR'S Bruce, Book XVI. pp. 39, 40.

---

1) Stop.

2) Certainly.

3) Pity.

4) Pitched.

5) Moved.

---



---

## NOTES TO CANTO FIFTH.

---

### Note I.

O'er chasms he passed, where fractures wide  
Craved wary eye and ample stride.

St. IV. p. 130.

The interior of the island of Arran abounds with beautiful highland scenery. The hills, being very rocky and precipitous, afford some cataracts of great height, though of inconsiderable breadth. There is one pass over the river Machrai, renowned for the dilemma of a poor woman, who, being tempted by the narrowness of the ravine to step across, succeeded in making the first movement, but took fright when



it became necessary to move the other foot, and remained in a posture equally ludicrous and dangerous, until some chance passenger assisted her to extricate herself. It is said she remained there some hours.

### N o t e II.

He cross'd his brow beside the stone,  
Where Druids erst heard victims groan,  
And at the cairns upon the wild,  
O'er many a heathen hero piled.

St. VI. p. 132.

The isle of Arran, like those of Man and Anglesea, abounds with many reliques of heathen, and probably druidical, superstition. There are high erect columns of unhewn stone, the most early of all monuments, the circles of rude stones, commonly entitled druidical, and the cairns, or sepulchral piles, within which are usually found urns inclosing ashes. Much doubt necessarily rests upon the history of such monuments, nor is it possible to consider them as exclusively Celtic, or druidical. By much the finest circles of standing stones, excepting Stone-



henge, are those of Stenhouse, at Stennis, in the island of Pomona, the principal isle of the Orcades. These, of course, are neither Celtic nor druidical; and we are assured that many circles of the kind occur both in Sweden and Norway.

### Note III.

Old Brodick's gothic towers were seen.  
From Hastings late, their English lord,  
Douglas had won them by the sword.

St. VI. p. 132.

Brodick or Brathwick castle, in the Isle of Arran, is an ancient fortress, near an open roadstead called Brodick bay, and not distant far from a tolerable harbour, closed in by the island of Lamlash. This important place had been assailed a short time before Bruce's arrival in the island. James Lord Douglas, who accompanied Bruce to his retreat in Rachrine, seems, in the spring of 1306, to have tired of his abode there, and set out accordingly, in the phrase of the times, to see what adventure



God would send him. Sir Robert Boyd accompanied him; and his knowledge of the localities of Arran appears to have directed his course thither. They landed in the island privately, and appear to have laid an ambush for Sir John Hastings, the English governor of Brodwick, and surprised a considerable supply of arms and provisions, and nearly took the castle itself. Indeed, that they actually did so, has been generally averred by historians, although it does not appear from the narrative of Barbour. On the contrary, it would seem that they took shelter within a fortification of the ancient inhabitants, a rampart called Tor an Schian. When they were joined by Bruce, it seems probable that they had gained Brodick castle. At least tradition says, that from the battlements of the tower he saw the supposed signal fire on Turnberrynook.

The castle is now much modernized, but has a dignified appearance, being surrounded by flourishing plantations.



## N o t e IV.

Oft, too, with unaccustom'd ears,  
A language much unmeet he hears.

St. VII. p. 134.

Barbour, with great simplicity, gives an anecdote, from which it would seem that the vice of profane swearing, afterwards too general among the Scottish nation, was, at this time, confined to military men. As Douglas, after Bruce's return to Scotland, was roving about the mountainous country of Tweeddale, near the water of Line, he chanced to hear some persons in a farm-house say "the devil." Concluding, from this hardy expression, that the house contained warlike guests, he immediately, assailed it, and had the good fortune to make prisoners Thomas Randolph, afterward the famous Earl of Murray, and Alexander Stuart, Lord Bonkle. Both were then in the English interest, and had come into that country with the purpose of driving out Douglas. They afterwards ranked among Bruce's most zealous adherents.



## N o t e V.

For, see! the ruddy signal made,  
That Clifford, with his merry-men all,  
Guards carelessly our father's hall.

St. IX. p. 135.

The remarkable circumstances by which Bruce was induced to enter Scotland, under the false idea that a signal-fire was lighted upon the shore near his maternal castle of Turnberry — the disappointment which he met with, and the train of success which arose out of that very disappointment, are too curious to be passed over unnoticed. The following is the narrative of Barbour. The introduction is a favourable specimen of his style, which seems to be in some degree the model for that of Gawain Douglas: —

This was in ver, <sup>1)</sup> when winter tide,  
With his blasts hideous to bide,  
Was overdriven: and birds small,

---

<sup>1)</sup> Spring.



As turtle, and the nightingale,  
 Begouth <sup>1)</sup> right sariolly <sup>2)</sup> to sing;  
 And for to make in their singing  
 Sweet notes, and sounds ser, <sup>3)</sup>  
 And melodies pleasant to hear.  
 And trees began to ma <sup>4)</sup>  
 Burgeans, <sup>5)</sup> and bright blooms alsua,  
 To win the helying <sup>6)</sup> of their head,  
 That wicked winter had them revid, <sup>7)</sup>  
 And all grasses began to spring.  
 Into that time the noble king,  
 With his fleet, and a few mengye, <sup>8)</sup>  
 Three hundred I trow they might be,  
 Is to the sea, out of Arane,  
 A little forouth <sup>9)</sup> even gone.

---

1) Began.

2) Loftily.

3) Several.

4) More.

5) Buds.

6) Covering.

7) Bereaved.

8) Many.

9) Before.

**XXV.**

**K**



They rowed fast, with all their might,  
Till that upon them fell the night,  
That wax myrk <sup>1)</sup> upon great maner,  
So that they wist not where they were.  
For they no needle had, na stone;  
But rowed always intill one,  
Steering all time upon the fire,  
That they saw burning light and schyr <sup>2)</sup>  
It was but anentur <sup>3)</sup> them led:  
And they in short time so them sped,  
That at the fire arrived they,  
And went to land but more delay.  
And Cuthbert, that has seen the fire,  
Was full of anger, and of ire;  
For he durst not do it away;  
And was also doubting aye  
That his lord should pass to sea,  
Therefore their coming waited he:  
And met them at their ariving.  
He was well soon brought to the king,  
That speared at him how he had done.  
And he with sore heart told him soon,

---

1) Dark.

2) Clear.

3) Adventure.



How that he found none well loving,  
But all were foes, that he found.  
And that the Lord the Persy,  
With near three hundred in company,  
Was in the castle there beside,  
Fullfilled of dispite and pride.  
But more than two parts of his rout  
Were harboured in the town without;  
«And despite you more sir king,  
«Than men may despite ony thing.»  
Than said the king, in full great ire,  
«Traitor, why made you the fire?»  
«A! Sir,» said he, «so God me see!  
«The fire was never made by me.  
«No, or the night, I wist it not;  
«But fra I wist it, well I thought  
«That ye, and wholly your menzie  
«In hy<sup>1)</sup> should put you to the sea.  
«Forth I come to meet you here,  
«To tell perils that may appear.»  
The king was of his speech angry,  
And asked his priye men, in hy,<sup>2)</sup>

---

1) Haste.

2) Haste.



What at them thought was best to do.  
Sir Edward first answered thereto,  
His brother that was so hardy,  
And said; «I say you sekylly  
«There shall no peril, that may be,  
«Drive me eftsoons <sup>1)</sup> to the sea.  
«Mine adventure here take will I,  
«Whether it be easeful or angry.”  
‘Brother,’ he said, ‘since you will sua,  
‘It is good that we same ta,  
‘Disease or ease, or pain or play.  
‘After as God will us purvay. <sup>2)</sup>  
‘And since men say that the Persy  
‘Mine heritage will occupy;  
‘And his menyie so near us lies,  
‘That us despites many ways;  
‘Go we, and venge <sup>3)</sup> some of the dispite.  
‘And that may we have done as tite; <sup>4)</sup>  
‘For they lie traistly, <sup>5)</sup> but dreading  
‘Of us, or of our here coming.

---

1) Soon after.

2) Prepare.

3) Avenge.

4) Snatched.

5) Trustily.



, And though we sleeping slew them all,  
, Reproof thereof no man shall.  
, For warior no force should ma,  
, Whether he might ourcome his fa  
, Through strength, or through subtilty;  
, But that good faith ay holden be.'

## N o t e VI.

Now ask you whence that wond'rous light,  
Whose fairy glow beguiled their sight? —  
It ne'er was known —————

St. XVII. p. 143.

The following are the words of an ingenious correspondent, to whom I am obliged for much information respecting Turnberry and its neighbourhood. «The only tradition now remembered of the landing of Robert the Bruce in Carrick, relates to the fire seen by him from the Isle of Arran. It is still generally reported, and religiously believed by many, that this fire was really the work of supernatural power, unassisted by the hand of any mortal being; and it is said, that, for several centuries, the flame rose yearly on the same hour of the same night



of the year, on which the king first saw it from the turrets of Brodick castle; and some go so far as to say, that if the exact time were known, it would be still seen. That this superstitious notion is very ancient, is evident from the place where the fire is said to have appeared, being called the Bogles' Brae, beyond the remembrance of man. In support of this curious belief, it is said that the practice of burning heath for the improvement of land was then unknown; that a spunkie (Jack o' lanthorn) could not have been seen across the breadth of the Forth of Clyde, between Ayrshire and Arran; and that the courier of Bruce was his kinsman, and never suspected of treachery." — Letter from Mr Joseph Train, of Newton Stuart, author of an ingenious *Collection of Poems, illustrative of many ancient Traditions in Galloway and Ayrshire*, Edinburgh, 1814.

#### NOTE VII.

They gain'd the Chase, a wide domain  
Left for the Castle's sylvan reign.

St. XIX. p. 145.

The Castle of Turnberry, on the coast of



Ayrshire, was the property of Robert Bruce, in right of his mother. Lord Hailes mentions the following remarkable circumstance concerning the mode in which he became proprietor of it: — «Martha, Countess of Carrick in her own right, the wife of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, bare him a son, afterwards Robert I. (11th July, 1274). The circumstances of her marriage were singular: happening to meet Robert Bruce in her domains, she became enamoured of him, and with some violence led him to her castle of Turnberry. A few days after she married him, without the knowledge of the relations of either party, and without the requisite consent of the king. The king instantly seized her castle and whole estates: She afterwards atoned by a fine for her feudal delinquency. Little did Alexander foresee, that, from this union, the restorer of the Scottish monarchy was to arise.» — *Annals of Scotland*, vol. II. p. 180.

The same obliging correspondent, whom I have quoted in the preceding note, gives me the following account of the present state of the ruins of Turnberry: — «Turnberry Point is a rock projecting into the sea; the top of it is about 18 feet above high-water mark. Upon



this rock was built the castle. There is about 25 feet high of the wall next to the sea yet standing. Upon the land-side the wall is only about four feet high; the length has been 60 feet, and the breadth 45: it was surrounded by a ditch, but that is now nearly filled up. The top of the ruin, rising between 40 and 50 feet above the water, has a majestic appearance from the sea. There is not much local tradition in the vicinity connected with Bruce or his history. In front, however, of the rock, upon which stands Culzean Castle, is the mouth of a romantic cavern, called the Cove of Colean, in which it is said Bruce and his followers concealed themselves immediately after landing, till they arranged matters for their farther enterprises. Burns mentions it in the poem of Halloween. The only place to the south of Turnberry worth mentioning with reference to Bruce's history, is the Weary Nuik, a little romantic green hill, where he and his party are said to have rested, after assaulting the castle."

Around the castle of Turnberry was a level plain of about two miles in extent, forming the castle park. There could be nothing, I am informed, more beautiful than the copse-wood and verdure of this extensive meadow, before it was invaded by the plough-share.



## N o t e VIII.

The Bruce hath won his father's hall!

St. XXXIII. p. 157.

I have followed the flattering and pleasing tradition, that the Bruce, after his descent upon the coast of Ayrshire, actually gained possession of his maternal castle. But the tradition is not accurate. The fact is, that he was only strong enough to alarm and drive in the out-posts of the English garrison, then commanded, not by Clifford, as assumed in the text, but by Percy. Neither was Clifford slain upon this occasion, though he had several skirmishes with Bruce. He fell afterwards in the battle of Bannockburn. Bruce, after alarming the castle of Turnberry, and surprising some part of the garrison, who were quartered without the walls of the fortress, retreated into the mountainous part of Carrick, and there made himself so strong, that the English were obliged to evacuate Turnberry, and at length the castle of Ayr. Many of his benefactions and royal gifts attest his attachment to the hereditary followers of his house, in this part of the country.



It is generally known, that Bruce, in consequence of his distresses after the battle of Methven, was affected by a scorbutic disorder, which was then called a leprosy. It is said he experienced benefit from the use of a medicinal spring, about a mile north of the town of Ayr, called from that circumstance King's Ease. The following is the tradition of the country, collected by Mr Train: — «After Robert ascended the throne, he founded the priory of Dominican monks, every one of whom was under the obligation of putting up to Heaven a prayer once every week-day, and twice in holydays, for the recovery of the king; and, after his death, these masses were continued for the saving of his soul. The ruins of this old monastery are now nearly level with the ground. Robert likewise caused houses to be built round the well of King's Ease, for eight lepers, and allowed eight bolls of oatmeal, and 28*l.* Scotch money, per annum, to each person. These donations were laid upon the lands of Fullarton, and are now payable by the Duke of Portland. The farm of Sheils, in the neighbourhood of Ayr, has to give, if required, a certain quantity of straw for the lepers' beds, and so much to thatch their houses annually. Each leprous person had a drinking-horn provided him by



the king, which continued to be hereditary in the house to which it was first granted. One of those indentical horns, of very curious workmanship, was in the possession of the late Colonel Fullarton of that ilk."

My correspondent proceeds to mention some curious remnants of antiquity respecting this foundation. "In compliment to Sir William Wallace, the great deliverer of his country, King Robert Bruce invested the descendants of that hero with the right of placing all the lepers upon the establishment of King's Ease. This patronage continued in the family of Craigie, till it was sold along with the lands of the late Sir Thomas Wallace. The burgh of Ayr then purchased the right of applying the donations of King's Ease to the support of the poor-house of Ayr. The lepers' charter-stone was a basaltic block, exactly the shape of a sheep's kidney, and weighing an Ayrshire boll of meal. The surface of this stone being as smooth as glass, there was not any other way of lifting it than by turning the hollow to the ground, there extending the arms along each side of the stone, and clasping the hands in the cavity. Young lads were always considered as deserving to be ranked among men, when they could lift the



blue stone of King's Ease. It always lay beside the well, till a few years ago, when some English dragoons encamped at that place wantonly broke it, since which the fragments have been kept by the freemen of Prestwick in a place of security. There is one of these charter-stones at the village of Old Daily, in Carrick, which has become more celebrated by the following event, which happened only a very few years ago: — The village of New Daily being now larger than the old place of the same name, the inhabitants insisted that the charter-stone should be removed from the old town to the new, but the people of Old Daily were unwilling to part with their ancient right. Demands and remonstrances were made on each side without effect, till at last man, woman, and child, of both villages, marched out, and by one desperate engagement, put an end to a war, the commencement of which no person then living remembered. Justice and victory, in this instance, being of the same party, the villagers of the old town of Daily now enjoy the pleasure of keeping the blue-stane unmolested. Ideal privileges are often attached to some of these stones. In Girvan, if a man can set his back against one of the above description, he is supposed not liable to be arrested.



for debt, nor can cattle, it is imagined, be pointed as long as they are fastened to the same stone. That stones were often used as symbols to denote the right of possessing land, before the use of written documents became general in Scotland, is, I think, exceedingly propable. The charter-stone of Inverness is still kept with great care, set in a frame, and hooped with iron, at the market-place of that town. It is called by the inhabitants of that district Clack na Couddin. I think it is very likely that Carey has mentioned this stone in his poem of Craig Phaderick. This is only a conjecture, as I have never seen that work. While the famous marble chair was allowed to remain at Scoon, it was considered as the charter-stone of the kingdom of Scotland."

#### N o t e IX.

"Bring here," he said, "the mazers four,  
My noble fathers loved of yore."

St. XXXIV. p. 158.

These mazers were large drinking-cups, or



goblets. Mention of them occurs in a curious inventory of the treasure and jewels of James III., which will be published, with other curious documents of antiquity, by my friend, Mr Thomas Thomson, D. Register of Scotland, under the title of "A Collection of Inventories, and other Records of the Royal Wardrobe, Jewel-House," etc. I copy the passage, in which mention is made of the mazers, and also of a habiliment, called "King Robert Bruce's serk," i. e. shirt, meaning, perhaps, his shirt of mail; although no other arms are mentioned in the inventory. It might have been a relique of more sanctified description, a penance shirt perhaps.

*Extract from "Inventare of ane Parte of the Gold and Silver conyeit and unconyeit, Jowellis, and uther Stuff perteining to Umquhile oure Soverane Lords Fader, that he had in Depois the Tyme of his Deceis, and that come to the Handis of oure Soverane Lord that now is, M.CCCC LXXXVIII."*

Memorandum fundin in a bandit kist like a



gardeviant, <sup>1)</sup> in the fyrst the grete chenye <sup>2)</sup> of gold, contenand sevin score sex linkis.

Item, thre platis of silver.

Item, tuelf saltatis. <sup>3)</sup>

Item, fyftene discheis <sup>4)</sup> ouregilt.

Item, a grete gilt plate.

Item, twa grete bassingis <sup>5)</sup> ouregilt.

Item, FOUR MASARIS, CALLED KING ROBERT THE  
BROCIS, with a cover.

Item, a grete cok maid of silver.

Item, the hede of silver of ane of the coveris  
of masar.

Item, a fare dialle. <sup>6)</sup>

---

1) Gard-vin, or wine-cooler.

2) Chain.

3) Salt-cellars, anciently the object of much curious  
workmanship.

4) Dishes.

5) Basons.

6) Dial.



Item, twa kasis of knyffis. <sup>1)</sup>

Item, a pare of auld kniffis.

Item, takin be the smyth that opinnit the lok-  
kis, in gold fourty demyis.

Item, in Inglys grotis <sup>2)</sup> - - - - - xxiiii li.  
and the said silver given again to the takaris  
of hym.

Item, ressavit in the cloissat of Davidis tour,  
ane haly waterfat of silver, twa boxis, a ca-  
geat tume, a glas with rois-water, a dosoune  
of torchis, King ROBERT BRUCIS SERK.

The real use of the antiquarian's studies, is  
to bring the minute information which he col-  
lects to bear upon points of history. For  
example, in the inventory I have just quoted,  
there is given the contents of the black kist,  
or chest, belonging to James III., which was  
his strong box, and contained a quantity of  
treasure, in money and jewels, surpassing what

---

1) Cases of knives.

2) English groats.



might have been at the period expected of a poor Scotland's gear." This illustrates and authenticates a striking passage in the history of the house of Douglas, by Hume of Godscroft. The last Earl of Douglas, (of the elder branch,) had been reduced to monastic seclusion in the abbey of Lindores, by James II. James III., in his distresses, would willingly have recalled him to public life, and made him his lieutenant. "But he," says Godscroft, "laden with years and old age, and weary of troubles, refused, saying, Sir, you have kept mee, and your black coffer in Sterling, too long, neither of us can doe you any good: I, because my friends have forsaken me, and my followers and dependers are fallen from me, betaking themselves to other masters; and your black trunk is too farre from you, and your enemies are between you and it: or (as others say) because there was in it a sort of black coyne, that the king had caused to be coyned by the advice of his courtiers; which moneyes (saith he) sir, if you had put out at the first, the people would have taken it; and if you had employed mee in due time I might have done you service. But now there is none that will take notice of me, nor meddle with your mo-



ney." — HUME's History of the House of Douglas, fol. Edin. 1644, p. 206.

### NOTE X.

Arouse old friends, and gather new.

St. XXXIV. p. 159.

As soon as it was known in Kyle, says ancient tradition, that Robert Bruce had landed in Carrick, with the intention of recovering the crown of Scotland, the Laird of Craigie, and forty-eight men in his immediate neighbourhood, declared in favour of their legitimate prince. Bruce granted them a tract of land, still retained by the freemen of Newton to this day. The original charter was lost when the pestilence was raging at Ayr; but it was renewed by one of the Jameses, and is dated a Faulkland. The freemen of Newton were formerly officers by rotation. The provost of Ayr, at one time, was at freeman of Newton, and it happened to be his turn, while provost in Ayr, to be officer in Newton, both of which offices he discharged at the same time.



## Note XI.

Let Ettrick's archers sharp their darts,  
The fairest forms, the truest hearts!

St. XXXIV. p. 159.

The forest of Selkirk, or Ettrick, at this period, occupied all the district which retains that denomination, and embraced the neighbouring dales of Tweeddale, and at least the upper ward of Clidesdale. All that tract was probably as waste as it is mountainous, and covered with the remains of the ancient Caledonian forest, which is supposed to have stretched from Cheviot Hills as far as Hamilton, and to have comprehended even a part of Ayrshire. At the fatal battle of Falkirk, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, brother to the steward of Scotland, commanded the archers of Selkirk forest, who fell around the dead body of their leader. The English historians have commemorated the tall and stately persons, as well as the unswerving faith, of these foresters. Nor has their interesting fall escaped the notice of an elegant modern poetess, whose subject led her to treat of that calamitous engagement.



«The glance of the morn had sparkled bright  
On their plumage green and their actions light;  
The bugle was strung at each hunter's side,  
As they had been bound to the chase to ride;  
But the bugle is mute, and the shafts are spent,  
The arm unnerved and the bow unbent,  
And the tired forester is laid  
Far, far from the clustering greenwood shade!  
Sore have they toil'd — they are fallen asleep,  
And their slumber is heavy, and dull, and deep!  
When over their bones the grass shall wave,  
When the wild winds over their tombs shall rave,  
Memory shall lean on their graves, and tell  
How Selkirk's hunters bold around old Stewart  
fell!»

WALLACE, or the Fight of Falkirk, Lond.  
quarto, 1809, pp. 170, 1.

---



---

## NOTES TO CANTO SIXTH.

---

### N o t e I.

When Bruce's banner had victorious flow'd  
O'er Loudoun's mountain, and in Ury's dale.

St. I. p. 164.

The first important advantage gained by Bruce, after landing at Turnberry, was over Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, the same by whom he had been defeated near Methven. They met, as has been said, by appointment, at Loudounhill, in the west of Scotland. Pembroke sustained a defeat; and from that time Bruce was at the head of a considerable flying army. Yet he was subsequently obliged to retreat into



Aberdeenshire, and was there assailed by Comyn, Earl of Buchan, desirous to avenge the death of his relative, the Red Comyn, and supported by a body of English troops under Philip de Moubray. Bruce was ill at the time of a scrophulous disorder, but took horse to meet his enemies, although obliged to be supported on either side. He was victorious, and it is said that the agitation of his spirits restored his health.

#### NOTE II.

When English blood oft deluged Douglas-dale.

St. I. p. 164.

The "good Lord James of Douglas," during these commotions, often took from the English his own castle of Douglas, but being unable to garrison it, contented himself with destroying the fortifications, and retiring into the mountains. As a reward to his patriotism, it is said to have been prophesied, that how often soever Douglas Castle should be destroyed, it should always again arise more magnificent from its ruins. Upon one of these occasions he used



fearful cruelty, causing all the store of provisions, which the English had laid up in his castle, to be heaped together, bursting the wine and beer-casks among the wheat and flour, slaughtering the cattle upon the same spot, and upon the top of the whole cutting the throats of the English prisoners. This pleasantry of the "good Lord James" is commemorated under the name of the Douglas's Larder. A more pleasing tale of chivalry is recorded by Godscroft. "By this means, and such other exploits, he so affrighted the enemy, that it was counted a matter of great jeopardy to keep this castle, which began to be called the adventurous (or hazardous) castle of Douglas; whereupon Sir John Walton being in suit of an English lady, she wrote to him, that when he had kept the adventurous castle of Douglas seven years, then he might think himself worthy to be a suitor to her. Upon this occasion Walton took upon him the keeping of it, and succeeded to Thruswall, but he ran the same fortune with the rest that were before him. For Sir James, having first dressed an ambuscado near unto the place, he made fourteen of his men take so many sacks, and fill them with grass, as though it had been corn, which they carried in the way to Lanark, the chief market town in



that county : so hoping to draw forth the captain by that bait, and either to take him or the castle, or both. Neither was this expectation frustrated, for the captain did bite, and came forth to have taken this victual (as he supposed.) But ere he could reach these carriers, Sir James, with his company, had gotten between the castle and him; and these disguised carriers, seeing the captain following after them, did quickly cast off their sacks, mounted themselves on horseback, and met the captain with a sharp encounter, being so much the more amazed, as it was unlooked for: wherefore, when he saw these carriers metamorphosed into warriors, and ready to assault him, fearing that which was, that there was some train laid for them, he turned about to have retired to his castle, but there he also met with his enemies; between which two companies he and his whole followers were slain, so that none escaped: the captain afterwards being searched, they found (as it is reported) his mistress's letter about him.\* — HUME's History of the House of Douglas, fol. pp. 29, 30.



## Note III.

And fiery Edward routed stout St John.

St. I. p. 164.

“John de St John, with 15,000 horsemen, had advanced to oppose the inroad of the Scots. By a forced march he endeavoured to surprise them, but intelligence of his motions was timeously received. The courage of Edward Bruce, approaching to temerity, frequently enabled him to achieve what men of more judicious valour would never have attempted. He ordered the infantry, and the meaner sort of his army, to entrench themselves in strong narrow ground. He himself, with fifty horsemen well harnessed, issued forth under cover of a thick mist, surprised the English on their march, attacked and dispersed them.” — DALRYMPLE'S Annals of Scotland, quarto, Edinburgh, 1779, p. 25.

## Note IV.

When Randolph's war-cry swell'd the southern  
gale.

St. I. p. 164.

Thomas Randolph, Bruce's sister's son, a re-



nowned Scottish chief, was in the early part of his life not more remarkable for consistency than Bruce himself. He espoused his uncle's party when Bruce first assumed the crown, and was made prisoner at the fatal battle of Methven, in which his relative's hopes appeared to be ruined. Randolph accordingly not only submitted to the English, but took an active part against Bruce, appeared in arms against him, and in the skirmish where he was so closely pursued by the blood-hound, it is said his nephew took his standard with his own hand. But Randolph was afterwards made prisoner by Douglas in Tweeddale, and brought before King Robert. Some harsh language was exchanged between the uncle and nephew, and the latter was committed for a time to close custody. Afterwards, however, they were reconciled, and Randolph was created Earl of Moray about 1312. After this period he eminently distinguished himself, first by the surprise of Edinburgh Castle, and afterwards by many similar enterprises, conducted with equal courage and ability.



## Note V.

——— Stirling's towers,  
Beleagured by King Robert's powers,  
And they took term of truce.

St. IV. p. 167.

When a long train of success, actively improved by Robert Bruce, had made him master of almost all Scotland, Stirling Castle continued to hold out. The care of the blockade was committed by the king to his brother Edward, who concluded a treaty with Sir Philip Mowbray, the governor, that he should surrender the fortress, if it were not succoured by the King of England before St John the Baptist's day. The king severely blamed his brother for the impolicy of a treaty, which gave time to the King of England to advance to the relief of the castle with all his assembled forces, and obliged himself either to meet them in battle with an inferior force, or to retreat with dishonour. "Let all England come," answered the reckless Edward; "we will fight them were they more." The consequence was, of course, that each kingdom mustered its strength



for the expected battle, and as the space agreed upon reached from Lent to Midsummer, full time was allowed for that purpose.

#### N o t e VI.

To summon prince and peer,  
At Berwick-bounds to meet their liege.

St. IV. p. 167.

There is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera* the summons issued upon this occasion to the sheriff of York; and he mentions eighteen other persons to whom similar ordinances were issued. It seems to respect the infantry alone, for it is entitled, *De peditibus ad rescussum Castri de Stryvelin a Scotis obsessi, properare faciendis*. This circumstance is also clear from the reasoning of the writt, which states: "We have understood that our Scottish enemies and rebels are endeavouring to collect as strong a force as possible of infantry, in strong and marshy grounds, where the approach of cavalry would be difficult, between us and the castle of Stirling." — It then sets forth Mowbray's agreement to surrender the



castle, if not relieved before St John the Baptist's day, and the king's determination, with divine grace, to raise the siege. "Therefore," the summons further bears, "to remove our said enemies and rebels from such places as above mentioned, it is necessary for us to have a strong force of infantry fit for arms." And accordingly the sheriff of York is commanded to equip and send forth a body of four thousand infantry, to be assembled at Werk, upon the tenth day of June first, under pain of the royal displeasure, etc.

#### NOTE VII.

And Cambria, but of late subdued,  
Sent forth her mountain-multitude.

St. IV. p. 167.

Edward the First, with the usual policy of a conqueror, employed the Welch, whom he had subdued, to assist him in his Scottish wars, for which their habits, as mountaineers, particularly fitted them. But this policy was not without its risks. Previous to the battle of Fal-



kirk, the Welch quarrelled with the English men-at-arms, and after bloodshed on both parts, separated themselves from his army, and the feud between them, at so dangerous and critical a juncture, was reconciled with difficulty. Edward II. followed his father's example in this particular, and with no better success. They could not be brought to exert themselves in the cause of their conquerors. But they had an indifferent reward for their forbearance. Without arms, and clad only in scanty dresses of linen cloth, they appeared naked in the eyes even of the Scottish peasantry; and after the rout of Bannock-burn, were massacred by them in great numbers, as they retired in confusion towards their own country. They were under command of Sir Maurice de Berkley.

#### N o t e VIII.

And Connoght pour'd from waste and wood  
Her hundred tribes, whose sceptre rude  
Dark Eth O'Connor sway'd.

St. IV. p. 167.

There is in the Fœdera an invitation to Eth



O'Connor, chief of the Irish of Connaught, setting forth that the king was about to move against his Scottish rebels, and therefore requesting the attendance of all the force he could muster, either commanded by himself in person, or by some nobleman of his race. These auxiliaries were to be commanded by Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster. Similar mandates were issued to the following Irish chiefs, whose names may astonish the unlearned, and amuse the antiquary,

«Eth O Donnuld, Duci Hibernicorum de Tyconil;

Demod O Kahan, Duci Hibernicorum de Fernetrew;

Doneval O Neel, Duci Hibernicorum de Tryowyn;

Neel Macbreen, Duci Hibernicorum de Kynallewan;

Eth. Offyn, Duci Hibernicorum de Turtery;

Admely Mac Anegus, Duci Hibernicorum de Onehagh;

Neel O Hanlan, Duci Hibernicorum de Erthere;

Bien Mac Mahun, Duci Hibernicorum de Uriel;

Lauercagh Mac Wyr, Duci Hibernicorum de Lougherin;



Gillys O Raily, Duci Hibernicorum de Bres-feny;

Geffrey O Fergy, Duci Hibernicorum de Montiragwil;

Felyn O Honughur, Duci Hibernicorum de Connach;

Donethuth O Bien, Duci Hibernicorum de Tothmund;

Dermod Mac Arthy, Duci Hibernicorum de Dessemound;

Denenol Carbragh;

Maur. Kenenagh Mac Murgh;

Murghugh O Bryn;

David O Tothvill;

Dermod O Tonoghur, Doffaly;

Fyn O Dymsey;

Souethuth Mac Gillephatrick;

Leyssagh O Morth;

Gilbertus Ekelly, Duci Hibernicorum de Omany;

Mac Ethelau;

Omalan Helyn, Duci Hibernicorum Midie."

RYMER's Acta Republica, vol. III. pp. 476,

477.



## Note IX.

Their chief, Fitz-Louis.

St. IX. p. 172.

Fitz-Louis, or Mac-Louis, otherwise called Fullarton, is a family of ancient descent in the Isle of Arran. They are said to be of French origin, as the name intimates. They attached themselves to Bruce upon his first landing; and Fergus Mac-Louis, or Fullarton, received from the grateful monarch a charter, dated 26th November, in the second year of his reign (1307,) for the lands of Kilmichel, and others, which still remain in this very anciant and respectable family.

## Note X.

In battles four beneath the eye,

The forces of King Robert lie.

St. X. p. 173.

The arrangements adopted by King Robert  
XXV.

M



for the decisive battle of Bannock-burn , are given very distinctly by Barbour , and form an edifying lesson to tacticians. Yet, till commented upon by Lord Hailes , this important passage of history has been generally and strangely misunderstood by historians. I will here endeavour to detail it fully.

Two days before the battle, Bruce selected the field of action, and took post there with his army, consisting of about 30,000 disciplined men, and about half the number of disorderly attendants upon the camp. The ground was called the New Park of Stirling; it was partly open, and partly broken by copses of wood and marshy ground. He divided his regular forces into four divisions. Three of these occupied a front line, separated from each other, yet sufficiently near for the purposes of communication. The fourth division formed a reserve. The line extended in a north-easterly direction from the brook of Bannock, which was so rugged and broken as to cover the right flank effectually, to the village of Saint Ninian's, probably in the line of the present road from Stirling to Kilsyth. Edward Bruce commanded the right wing, which was strengthened by a strong body of cavalry under Keith, the ma-



reschal of Scotland, to whom was committed the important charge of attacking the English archers; Douglas, and the young Stewart of Scotland, led the central wing; and Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, the left wing. The king himself commanded the fourth division, which lay in reserve behind the others. The royal standard was pitched, according to tradition, in a stone, having a round hole for its reception, and thence called the Bore-stone. It is still shewn on the top of a small eminence, called Brock's-brae, to the south-west of St Ninian's. His main body thus disposed, King Robert sent the followers of the camp, fifteen thousand and upwards in number, to the eminence in rear of his army, called from that circumstance the Gillies' (i. e. the servants') Hill.

The military advantages of this position were obvious. The Scottish left flank, protected by the brook of Bannock, could not be turned; or, if that attempt were made, a movement by the reserve might have covered it. Again, the English could not pass the Scottish army, and move towards Stirling, without exposing their flank to be attacked while in march.

If, on the other hand, the Scottish line had



been drawn up east and west, and facing to the southward, as affirmed by Buchanan, and adopted by Mr Nimmo, the author of the History of Stirlingshire, there appears nothing to have prevented the English approaching upon the carse, or level ground, from Falkirk, either from turning the Scottish left flank, or from passing their position, if they preferred it, without coming to an action, and moving on to the relief of Stirling. And the Gillies' Hill, if this less probable hypothesis be adopted, would be situated, not in the rear, as allowed by all the historians, but upon the left flank of Bruce's army. The only objection to the hypothesis above laid down, is, that the left flank of Bruce's army was thereby exposed to a sally from the garrison of Stirling. But, first, the garrison were bound to neutrality by terms of Mowbray's treaty; and Barbour even seems to censure, as a breach of faith, some secret assistance which they rendered their countrymen upon the eve of battle, in placing temporary bridges of doors and spars over the pools of water in the carse, to enable them to advance to the charge. <sup>1)</sup> 2dly, Had this not been the

---

1) An assistance which (by the way) could not have



case, the strength of the garrison was probably not sufficient to excite apprehension. 3dly, The adverse hypothesis leaves the rear of the Scottish army as much exposed to the Stirling garrison, as the left flank would be in the case supposed.

It only remains to notice the nature of the ground in front of Bruce's line of battle. Being part of a park, or chase, it was considerably interrupted with trees, and an extensive marsh, still visible, in some places rendered it inaccessible, and in all of difficult approach. More to the northward, where the natural impediments were fewer, Bruce fortified his position against cavalry, by digging a number of pits so close together, says Barbour, as to resemble the cells in a honey-comb. They were a foot in breadth, and between two and three feet deep, many rows of them being placed one behind the other. They were slightly covered with brushwood and green sods, so as not to be obvious to an impetuous enemy.

---

been rendered, had not the English approached from the south-east; since, had their march been due north, the whole Scottish army must have been between them and the garrison.



All the Scottish army were on foot, excepting a select body of cavalry stationed with Edward Bruce on the right wing, under the immediate command of Sir Robert Keith, the Marshal of Scotland, who were destined for the important service of charging and dispersing the English archers.

Thus judiciously posted, in a situation fortified both by art and nature, Bruce awaited the attack of the English.

#### NOTE XI.

Beyond, the Southern host appears,

St. X. p. 173.

Upon the 23d June, 1314, the alarm reached the Scottish army of the approach of the enemy. Douglas and the Marshal were sent to reconnoitre with a body of cavalry.

“And soon the great host have they seen,  
Where shields shining were so sheen,



And basinets burnished bright,  
That gave against the sun great light.  
They saw so fele <sup>1)</sup> brawdyne <sup>2)</sup> baners,  
Standards and pennons and spears,  
And so fele knights upon steeds,  
All flaming in their weeds.  
And so fele bataills, <sup>3)</sup> and so broad,  
And too so great room as they rode,  
That the maist host, and the stoutest  
Of Christendom, and the greatest,  
Should be abaysit <sup>4)</sup> for to see  
Their foes into such quantity."

THE BRUCE, vol. II. p. 111.

The two Scottish commanders were cautious in the account which they brought back to their camp. To the king in private they told the formidable state of the enemy; but in public reported that the English were indeed a numerous host, but ill commanded and worse disciplined.

---

1) Many.

2) Displayed.

3) Battalions.

4) Alarmed.



## N o t e XII.

With these the valiant of the Isles  
Beneath their chieftains rank'd their files.

St. XI. p. 174.

The men of Argyle, the islanders, and the Highlanders in general, were ranked in the rear. They must have been numerous, for Bruce had reconciled himself with almost all their chieftains, excepting the obnoxious Mac-Dougals of Lorn. The following deed, containing the submission of the potent Earl of Ross to the king, was never before published. It is dated in the third year of Robert's reign, that is, 1309.

OBLIGACIO COMITIS ROSSENSIS PER HOMAGIUM FIDELITATEM ET SCRIPTUM.

Universis christi fidelibus ad quorum noticiam presentes litere peruenerint Willielmus Comes de Ross salutem in domino sempiternam. Quia magnificus princeps Dominus Robertus dei gra-



cia Rex Scottorum Dominus meus ex innata sibi bonitate, inspirataque clemencia, et gracia speciali remisit michi pure rancorem animi sui, et relaxauit ac condonauit michi omnimodas transgressionem seu offensas contra ipsum et suos per me et meos vsque ad confeccionem literarum presencium perpetratas: Et terras meas et teneamenta mea omnia graciose concessit. Et me nichilominus de terra de Dingwal et ferncroskry infra comitatum de Suthyrland de benigna liberalitate sua heriditarie infeodare curauit. Ego tantam principis beneuolenciam efficaciter attendens, et pro tot graciis michi factis, victis, vicem sibi gratitudinis meis pro viribus de cetero digne - - - - - vite cupiens exhibere, subicio et obliigo me et heredes meos et homines meos vniuersos dicto Domino meo Regi per omnia - - - - - erga suam regiam dignitatem, quod erimus de cetero fideles sibi et heredibus suis et fidele sibi seruicium auxilium et concilium - - - - - contra omnes homines et feminas qui vivere poterint aut mori, et super h - - - Ego Willielmus pro me - - - - - hominibus meis vniuersis dicto domino meo Regi - - - - - manibus homagium sponte feci et super dei ewangelia sacramentum prestiti - - - - - . In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum meum, et sigilla Hugonis



fili et heredis et Johannis filii mei vna cum sigillis venerabilium patrum Dominorum David et Thome Moraviensis et Rossensis dei gracia episcoporum presentibus literis sunt appensa. Acta scripta et data apud Aldern in Moravia vltimo die mensis Octobris, Anno Regni dicti domini nostri Regis Roberti Tertio. Testibus venerabilibus patribus supradictis, Domino Bernardo Cancellario Regis, Dominis Willielmo de Haya, Johanne de Striuelyn, Willielmo Wysman, Johanne de Ffenton David de Berkeley, et Waltero de Berkeley, militibus, magistro Waltero Heroc, Decano ecclesie Morauie, magistro Willielmo de Creswel eiusdem ecclesie precentore et multis aliis nobilibus clericis et laicis dictis die et loco congregatis.

The copy of this curious document was supplied by my friend, Mr Thomson, Deputy Register of Scotland, whose researches into our ancient records are daily throwing new and important light upon the history of the country.



## N o t e XIII.

The Monarch rode along the van.

St. XIII. p. 176.

The English vanguard, commanded by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, came in sight of the Scottish army upon the evening of the 23d of June. Bruce was then riding upon a little palfrey, in front of his foremost line, putting his host in order. It was then that the personal encounter took place betwixt him and Sir Henry de Bohun, a gallant English knight, the issue of which had a great effect upon the spirits of both armies. It is thus recorded by Barbour: —

«And when Glosyter and Herfurd were,  
With their battle approaching near,  
Before them all their come riding,  
With helm on head, and spear in hand,  
Sir Henry the Boune, the worthy,  
That was a wight knight, and a hardy;  
And to the Earl of Herfurd cousin;  
Armed in arms good and fine;



Come on a steed, a bow-shot nere,  
Before all other that there were.  
And knew the king, for that he saw  
Him so range his men on row;  
And by the crown, that was set  
Also upon his bassenet,  
And towards him he went on haste.  
And the king so apertly  
Saw him come, forth all his feres <sup>1)</sup>  
In hy <sup>2)</sup> till him the horse he steers.  
And when Sir Henry saw the king  
Come on, forouting abaysing, <sup>3)</sup>  
Till him he rode in full great hy. <sup>4)</sup>  
He thought that he should well lightly  
Win him, and have him at his will,  
Since he him horsed saw so ill.  
Sprent <sup>5)</sup> they same intill a ling. <sup>6)</sup>  
Sir Henry mised the noble king.

---

1) Comrades.

2) Haste.

3) Without shrinking.

4) Haste.

5) Spurred.

6) Line.



And he, that in his stirrups stood,  
With the axe, that was hard and good,  
With so great mayn <sup>1)</sup> reached him a dint,  
That neither hat no helm might stynt,  
The hewy <sup>2)</sup> dusche, <sup>3)</sup> that he him gave,  
That nere the head till the harness clave.  
The hand-axe shaft fruschyt <sup>4)</sup> in tow;  
And he down to the yird gan go  
All flatlynys, <sup>5)</sup> for him failled might.  
This was the first stroke of the fight."

BARBOUR'S Bruce, vol. II. p. 122.

The Scottish leaders remonstrated with the king upon his temerity. He only answered, "I have broken my good battleaxe." — The English vanguard retreated after witnessing this single combat. Probably their generals did not think it advisable to hazard an attack, while its unfavourable issue remained upon their minds.

---

1) Moan.

2) Heavy.

3) Clash.

4) Broken.

5) Flat.



## N o t e XIV.

What train of dust, with trumpet-sound  
And glimmering spears, is wheeling round  
Our leftward flank?

St. XVIII. p. 181.

While the van of the English army advanced, a detached body attempted to relieve Stirling. Lord Hailes gives the following account of this manœuvre and the result, which is accompanied by circumstances highly characteristic of the chivalrous manners of the age, and displays that generosity which reconciles us even to their ferocity upon other occasions.

Bruce had enjoined Randolph, who commanded the left wing of his army, to be vigilant in preventing any advanced parties of the English from throwing succours into the castle of Stirling.

«Eight hundred horsemen, commanded by Sir Robert Clifford, were detached from the English army; they made a circuit by the low



grounds to the east, and approached the castle. The king perceived their motions, and coming up to Randolph, angrily exclaimed, 'Thoughtless man! you have suffered the enemy to pass. Randolph hasted to repair his fault, or perish. As he advanced, the English cavalry wheeled to attack him. Randolph drew up his troops in a circular form, with their spears resting on the ground, and protended on every side. At the first onset, Sir William Daynecourt, an English commander of distinguished note, was slain. The enemy, far superior in numbers to Randolph, environed him, and pressed hard on his little band. Douglas saw his jeopardy, and requested the king's permission to go and succour him. 'You shall not move from your ground,' cried the king; 'let Randolph extricate himself as he best may. I will not alter my order of battle, and lose the advantage of my position.' 'In truth,' replied Douglas, 'I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish; and, therefore, with your leave, I must aid him.' The king unwillingly consented, and Douglas flew to the assistance of his friend. While approaching, he perceived that the English were falling into disorder, and that the perseverance of Randolph had prevailed over their impetuous courage. 'Halt,' cried Douglas, 'those brave



men have repulsed the enemy; let us not diminish their glory by sharing it." — DALRYMPLE'S Annals of Scotland, 4to, Edinburgh, 1779, pp. 44, 45.

Two large stones erected at the north end of the village of Newhouse, about a quarter of a mile from the south part of Stirling, ascertain the place of this memorable skirmish. The circumstance tends, were confirmation necessary, to support the opinion of Lord Hailes, that the Scottish line had Stirling on its left flank. It will be remembered, that Randolph commanded infantry, Daynecourt cavalry. Supposing, therefore, according to the vulgar hypothesis, that the Scottish line was drawn up, facing to the south, in the line of the brook of Bannock, and consequently that Randolph was stationed with his left flank resting upon Milntown bog, it is morally impossible that his infantry, moving from that position, with whatever celerity, could cut off from Stirling a body of cavalry who had already passed St Ninians,<sup>1)</sup>

---

1) Barbour says expressly, they avoided the New Park, (where Bruce's army lay,) and held „well neath the Kirk,“ which can only mean St Ninians.



or, in other words, were already between them and the town. Whereas, supposing Randolph's left to have approached St Ninians, the short movement to Newhouse could easily be executed, so as to intercept the English in the manner described.

### Notes XV.

Responsive from the Scottish host,

Pipe-clang and bugle-sound were toss'd:

St. XX. p. 184.

There is an old tradition, that the well-known Scottish tune of "Hey, tutti taitti," was Bruce's march at the battle of Bannockburn. The late Mr Ritson, no granter of propositions, doubts whether the Scots had any martial music, quotes Froissart's account of each soldier in the host bearing a little horn, on which, at the onset, they would make such a horrible noise, as if all the devils of hell had been among them. He observes, that these horns are the only music mentioned by Barbour, and con-



cludes, that it must remain a moot point whether Bruce's army were cheered by the sound even of a solitary bagpipe — Historical Essay prefixed to Ritson's Scottish Songs.

It may be observed in passing, that the Scottish of this period certainly observed some musical cadence, even in winding their horns, since Bruce was at once recognised by his followers from his mode of blowing. See Note X. on Canto IV.

But the tradition, true or false, has been the means of securing to Scotland one of the finest lyrics in the language, the celebrated war-song of Burns, —

Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled.

#### N o t e XVI.

Now onward, and in open view,  
The countless ranks of England drew.

St. XXI. p. 185.

Upon the 24th of June, the English army



advanced to the attack. The narrowness of the Scottish front, and the nature of the ground, did not permit them to have the full advantage of their numbers, nor is it very easy to find out what was their proposed order of battle. The vanguard, however, appeared a distinct body, consisting of archers and spearmen on foot, and commanded, as already said, by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford. Barbour, in one place, mentions that they formed nine **BATTLES**, or divisions; but from the following passage, it appears that there was no room or space for them to extend themselves, so that, except the vanguard, the whole army appeared to form one solid and compact body: —

“The English men, on either party,  
That as angels shone brightly,  
Were not arrayed on such manner:  
For all their battles samyn <sup>1)</sup> were  
In a schiltrum. <sup>2)</sup> But whether it was  
Through the great straitness of the place.

---

1) Together.

2) *Schiltrum*. — This word has been variously limited



That they were in , to bide fighting;  
Or that it was for abaysing ; <sup>1)</sup>  
I wete not. But in a schiltrum  
It seemed they were all and some;  
Out ta'en the vaward anerly , <sup>2)</sup>  
That right with a great company,

---

or extended in its signification. In general, it seems to imply a large body of men drawn up very closely together. But it has been limited to imply a round or circular body of men so drawn up. I cannot understand it with this limitation in the present case. The schiltrum of the Scottish army at Falkirk was undoubtedly of a circular form, in order to resist the attacks of the English cavalry, on whatever quarter they might be charged. But it does not appear how, or why, the English advancing to the attack at Bannockburn, should have arrayed themselves in a circular form. It seems more probable, that, by *Schiltrum* in the present case, Barbour means to express an irregular mass into which the English army was compressed by the unwieldiness of its numbers, and the carelessness or ignorance of its leaders.

1) Frightening.

2) Alone.



Be them selwyn, arrayed were.  
Who had been by, might have seen there  
That folk ourtake a mekill feild  
On breadth, where many a shining shield,  
And many a burnished bright armour,  
And many a man of great valour,  
Might in that great schiltrum be seen:  
And many a bright banner and sheen."

BARBOUR'S Bruce, vol. II. p. 137.

### N o t e XVII.

"See where yon bare-foot Abbot stands,  
And blesses them with lifted hands.

St. XXI. p. 186.

"Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, placing himself on an eminence, celebrated mass in sight of the Scottish army. He then passed along the front, bare-footed, and bearing a crucifix in his hands, and exhorting the Scots in few and forcible words, to combat for their rights



and their liberty. The Scots kneeled down. ,They yield ,’ cried Edward ; ,see, they implore mercy.’ ,They do ,’ answered Ingelram de Umfraville , ,but not ours. On that field they will be victorious, or die.’ ” — Annals of Scotland, vol. II. p. 47.

### N o t e XVIII.

«Forth , Marshal , on the peasant foe !  
We’ll tame the terrors of their bow ,  
And cut the bow-string loose !”

St. XXII. p. 187.

The English archers commenced the attack with their usual bravery and dexterity. But against a force, whose importance he had learned by fatal experience, Bruce was provided. A small, but select, body of cavalry were detached from the right, under command of Sir Robert Keith. They rounded, as I conceive, the marsh called Milntown bog, and, keeping the firm ground, charged the left flank and rear of the English archers. As the bowmen had no spears, nor long weapons, fit to defend



themselves against horse, they were instantly thrown into disorder, and spread through the whole English army a confusion, from which they never fairly recovered.

„The English archers shot so fast,  
That might their shot have any last,  
It had been hard to Scottish men.  
But King Robert, that well gan ken,<sup>1)</sup>  
That their shot right hard and grievous,  
Ordained, forouth<sup>2)</sup> the assembly,  
His Marschall, with a great menzie,  
Five hundred armed into steel,  
That on light horse were horsed well,  
For to pryk<sup>3)</sup> among the archers,  
And to assail them with their spears,  
That they no leisure have till shoot.

---

1) Know.

2) Disjoined from the main body.

3) That I speak of.



This marischell that I of mute, <sup>1)</sup>  
That Sir Robert of Keith was called,  
As I befor here has you told,  
When he saw the battles so  
Assembled, and together go,  
And saw the archers shoot stoutly;  
With all them of his company,  
In haste upon them gan he ride,  
And overtooke them at a side; <sup>2)</sup>  
And rushed among them so rudely,  
Sticking them so despiteously,  
And in such fusion <sup>3)</sup> bearing downe  
And slaying them, foroutin ransoun; <sup>4)</sup>  
That they them scalyt <sup>5)</sup> euerilkane. <sup>6)</sup>

---

1) Spur.

2) Set upon their flank.

3) Numbers.

4) Ransom.

5) Dispersed.

6) Every one.



And from that time forth there was na  
That assembled shot to ma.<sup>1)</sup>  
When Scotts archers saw that they sua  
Were rebutyt,<sup>2)</sup> they wax hardy,  
And with all their might shot eagerly  
Among the horsemen that there rode;  
And wounds wide to them they made,  
And slew of them a full great deal."

BARBOUR'S Bruce, pp. 147, '8.

Although the success of this manœuvre was evident, it is very remarkable that the Scottish generals do not appear to have profited by the lesson. Almost every subsequent battle which they lost against England, was decided by the archers, to whom the close and compact array of the Scottish phalanx afforded an exposed and unresisting mark. The bloody battle of Hali-down-hill, fought scarce twenty years afterward,

---

1) Make.

2) Driven back.



was so completely gained by the archers, that the English are said to have lost only one knight, one esquire, and a few foot-soldiers. At the battle of Neville's Cross, in 1346, where David II. was defeated and made prisoner, John de Graham, observing the loss which the Scots sustained from the English bowmen, offered to charge and disperse them, if a hundred men at arms were put under his command. "But, to confess the truth," says Fordun, "he could not procure a single horseman for the service proposed." Of such little use is experience in war, where its results are opposed by habit or prejudice.

### N o t e XIX.

Each braggart churl could boast before,  
Twelve Scottish lives his baldric bore!

StXXIV. p. 189.

Roger Ascham quotes a similar Scottish proverb, "whereby they give the whole praise of shooting honestly to Englishmen, saying thus, that every English archer beareth under his



girdle twenty-four Scottes.' Indeed Toxophilus says before, and truly of the Scottish nation, 'The Scottes surely be good men of warre in theyre owne feates as can be; but as for shootinge, they can neither use it to any profite, nor yet challenge it for any praise.' — Works of Ascham, edited by Bennet, 4to, p. 110.

It is said, I trust incorrectly, by an ancient English historian, that the "good Lord James of Douglas" dreaded the superiority of the English archers so much, that when he made any of them prisoner, he gave him the option of losing the fore-finger of his right hand, or his right eye, either species of mutilation rendering him incapable to use the bow. I have mislaid the reference to this singular passage.

#### N o t e XX.

Down! down! in headlong overthrow,  
Horseman and horse, the foremost go.

St. XXIV. p. 189.

It is generally alleged by historians, that the



English men-at-arms fell into the hidden snare which Bruce had prepared for them. Barbour does not mention the circumstance. According to his account, Randolph, seeing the slaughter made by the cavalry on the right wing among the archers, advanced courageously against the main body of the English, and entered into close combat with them. Douglas and Stuart, who commanded the Scottish centre, led their division also to the charge, and the battle becoming general along the whole line, was obstinately maintained on both sides for a long space of time; the Scottish archers doing great execution among the English men-at-arms, after the bowmen of England were dispersed.

#### N o t e XXI.

And steeds that shriek in agony.

St. XXIV. p. 190.

I have been told that this line requires an explanatory note; and, indeed, those who witness the silent patience with which horses submit to the most cruel usage, may be permitted



to doubt, that, in moments of sudden or intolerable anguish, they utter a most melancholy cry. Lord Erskine, in a speech made in the House of Lords, upon a bill for enforcing humanity towards animals, noticed this remarkable fact, in language which I will not mutilate by attempting to repeat it. It was my fortune, upon one occasion, to hear a horse, in a moment of agony, utter a thrilling scream, which I still consider the most melancholy sound I ever heard.

### N o t e XXII.

Lord of the Isles, my trust in thee  
Is firm as Ailsa-rock;  
Rush on with Highland sword and targe,  
I with my Carrick spearmen, charge.

St. XXVII. p. 192.

When the engagement between the main bodies had lasted some time, Bruce made a decisive movement, by bringing up the Scottish reserve. It is traditionally said, that at this crisis, he addressed the Lord of the Isles in a



phrase used as a motto by some of his descendants, "My trust is constant in thee." Barbour intimates, that the reserve "assembled on one field," that is, on the same line with the Scottish forces already engaged, which leads Lord Hailes to conjecture, that the Scottish ranks must have been much thinned by slaughter, since, in that circumscribed ground, there was room for the reserve to fall into the line. But the advance of the Scottish cavalry must have contributed a good deal to form the vacancy occupied by the reserve.

### N o t e XXIII.

To arms they flew, — axe, club; or spear, —  
And mimic ensigns high they rear.

St. XXX. p. 195.

The followers of the Scottish camp observed, from the Gillies' hill in the rear, the impression produced upon the English army by the bringing up of the Scottish reserve, and, prompted by the enthusiasm of the moment, or the desire of plunder, assumed, in a tumult.



tuary manner, such arms as they found nearest, fastened sheets to tent-poles and lances, and shewed themselves like a new army advancing to battle.

«Yeomen, and swanys,<sup>1)</sup> and pitaill,<sup>2)</sup>  
That in the Park yemet victual<sup>3)</sup>  
Were left; when they wist but lesing<sup>4)</sup>  
That their lords with full fighting  
On their foes assembled were;  
One of their selwyn<sup>5)</sup> that were there  
Captain of them all they made.  
And sheets, that were some dale<sup>6)</sup> braid,  
They fastened instead of banners,  
Upon long trees and spears.

---

1) Swains.

2) Rabble.

3) Kept the provisions.

4) Lying.

5) Selves.

6) Somewhat.



And said that they would see the fight,  
And help their Lords at their might.  
When here — till all assented were,  
In a rout assembled er, <sup>1)</sup>  
Fifteen thousand they were or ma,  
And than in great haste gan they go,  
With their banners, all in a route,  
As they had men been styve <sup>2)</sup> and stout,  
They came with all that assembly,  
Right till they might the battle see;  
Than all at once they gave a cry,  
Slay! Slay! Upon them hastily!”

BARBOUR'S Bruce, vol. II. Book XIII.  
pp. 153, 4.

The unexpected apparition, of what seemed  
a new army, completed the confusion which  
already prevailed among the English, who fled  
in every direction, and were pursued with

---

1) Are.

2) Stiff.



immense slaughter. The brook of Bannock, according to Barbour, was so choked with the bodies of men and horses, that it might have been passed dry-shod. The followers of the Scottish camp fell upon the disheartened fugitives, and added to the confusion and slaughter. Many were driven into the Forth, and perished there, which, by the way, could hardly have happened, had the armies been drawn up east and west, since in that case, to get at the river, the English fugitives must have fled through the victorious army. About a short mile from the field of battle is a place called the Bloody Folds. Here the Earl of Gloucester is said to have made a stand, and died gallantly at the head of his own military tenants and vassals. He was much regretted by both sides; and it is said the Scottish would gladly have saved his life, but, neglecting to wear his surcoat with armorial bearings over his armour, he fell unknown, after his horse had been stabbed with spears.

Sir Marmaduke Twenge, an English knight, contrived to conceal himself during the fury of the pursuit, and when it was somewhat slackened, approached King Robert. „Whose prisoner are you, Sir Marmaduke?” said Bruce,



to whom he was personally known. "Yours, sir," answered the knight. "I receive you," answered the king, and, treating him with the utmost courtesy, loaded him with gifts, and dismissed him without ransom. The other prisoners were all well treated. There might be policy in this, as Bruce would naturally wish to acquire the good opinion of the English barons, who were at this time at great variance with their king. But it also well accords with his high chivalrous character.

#### N o t e XXIV.

O! give their hapless prince his due.

St. XXXI. p. 196.

Edward II., according to the best authorities, shewed, in the fatal field of Bannockburn, personal gallantry not unworthy of his great sire and greater son. He remained on the field till forced away by the Earl of Pembroke, when all was lost. He then rode to the castle of Stirling, and demanded admittance; but the governor, remonstrating upon the imprudence of shutting himself up in that fortress, which



must so soon surrender, he assembled around his person five hundred men-at-arms, and, avoiding the field of battle and the victorious army, fled towards Linlithgow, pursued by Douglas with about sixty horse. They were augmented by Sir Lawrence Abernethy with twenty more, whom Douglas met in the Torwood upon their way to join the English army, and whom he easily persuaded to desert the defeated monarch, and to assist in the pursuit. They hung upon Edward's flight as far as Dunbar, too few in number to assail him with effect, but enough to harass his retreat so constantly, that whoever fell an instant behind, was instantly slain, or made prisoner. Edward's ignominious flight terminated at Dunbar, where the Earl of March, who still professed allegiance to him, "received him full gently." From thence, the monarch of so great an empire, and the late commander of so gallant and numerous an army, escaped to Bamborough in a fishing vessel.

Bruce, as will appear from the following document, lost no time in directing the thunders of parliamentary censure against such part of his subjects as did not return to their natural allegiance after the battle of Bannockburn.



## APUD MONASTERIUM DE CAMBUSKENNETH.

VI DIE NOVEMBRIS, M,CCC,XIV.

*Judicium Redditum apud Kambuskinet contra  
omnes illos qui tunc fuerunt contra fidem et  
pacem Domini Regis.*

Anno gracie millesimo tricentesimo quarto decimo sexto die Novembris tenente perliamentum suum Excellentissimo principe domino Roberto Dei gracia Rege Scottorum Illustri in monasterio de Cambuskyneth concordatum fuit finaliter Judicatum (ac super) hoc statutum de Consilio et Assensu Episcoporum et ceterorum Prelatorum Comitum Baronum et aliorum nobilium regni Scocie nec non et tocius communitatis regni predicti quod omnes qui contra fidem et pacem dicti domini regis in bello seu alibi mortui sunt (vel qui dic) to die ad pacem ejus et fidem non venerant licet sepius vocati et legitime expectati fuissent de terris et tene-



mentis et omni alio statu infra regnum Scocie perpetuo sint exheredati et habeantur de cetero tanquam inimici Regis et Regni ab omni vendicatione juris hereditarii vel juris alterius cujuscunque in posterum pro se et heredibus suis in perpetuum privati Ad perpetuam igitur rei memoriam et evidentem probationem hujus Judicii et Statuti sigilla Episcoporum et aliorum Prelatorum nec non et comitum Baronum ac ceterorum nobilium dicti Regni presenti ordinationi Judicio et statuta sunt appensa.

Sigillum Domini Regis

Sigillum Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree

Sigillum Roberti Episcopi Glascuensis

Sigillum Willelmi Episcopi Dunkeldensis

. . . Episcopi . . . . .

. . . Episcopi . . . . .

. . . Episcopi . . . . .

Sigillum Alani Episcopi Sodorensis

Sigillum Johannis Episcopi Brechynensis

Sigillum Andree Episcopi Ergadiensis

Sigillum Freachardi Episcopi Cathanensis

Sigillum Abbatis de Scona



Sigillum Abbatis de Calco  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Abirbrothok  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Sancta Cruce  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Londoris  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Newbotill  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Cupro  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Paslet  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Dunfermelyn  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Lincluden  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Insula Missarum  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Sancto Columba  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Deer  
 Sigillum Abbatis de Dulce Corde  
 Sigillum Prioris de Coldinghame  
 Sigillum Prioris de Rostynot  
 Sigillum Prioris Santi Andree  
 Sigillum Prioris de Pettinwem  
 Sigillum Prioris de Insula de Lochlevin  
 Sigillum Senescalli Scocie  
 Sigillum Willelmi Comitis de Ros

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .



Sigillum Gilberti de la Haya Constabularii Scocie

Sigillum Roberti de Keth Mariscalli Scocie

Sigillum Hugonis de Ros

Sigillum Jacobi de Douglas

Sigillum Johannis de Sancto Claro

Sigillum Thome de Ros

Sigillum Alexandri de Settone

Sigillum Walteri Haliburtone

Sigillum Davidis de Balfour

Sigillum Duncani de Wallays

Sigillum Thome de Dischingtone

Sigillum Andree de Moravia

Sigillum Archibaldi de Betun

Sigillum Ranulphi de Lyill

Sigillum Malcomi de Balfour

Sigillum Normanni de Lesley

Sigillum Nigelli de Campo bello

Sigillum Morni de Musco Campo

• • • • •

• • • • •



## Note XXV.

Not for De Argentine alone,  
Through Ninian's church these torches shone,  
And rose the death-prayer's awful tone.

St. XXXV. p. 199.

The remarkable circumstances attending the death of De Argentine have been already noticed, (pp. 309, 310.) Besides this renowned warrior, there fell many representatives of the noblest houses in England, which never sustained a more bloody and disastrous defeat. Barbour says that two hundred pairs of gilded spurs were taken from the field of battle; and that some were left the author can bear witness, who has in his possession a curious antique spur, dug up in the morass, not long since.

«It was fersooth a great ferlie;  
To see samyn <sup>1)</sup> sa fele did lie.

---

<sup>1)</sup> Together.



Two hundred spurs that were reid,<sup>1)</sup>  
Were taen of knights that were dead.»

I am now to take my leave of Barbour, not without a sincere wish that the public may encourage the undertaking of my friend, Dr Jamieson, who has issued proposals for publishing an accurate edition of his poem, and of Blind Harry's Wallace. The only good edition of The Bruce was published by Mr Pinkerton, in 3 vols., in 1790; and, the learned editor having had no personal access to consult the manuscript, it is not without errors; and it has besides become scarce. Of Wallace there is no tolerable edition; yet these two poems do no small honour to the early state of Scottish poetry, and The Bruce is justly regarded as containing authentic historical facts.

The following list of the slain at Bannockburn, extracted from the continuator of Trievet's Annals, will show the extent of the national calamity.

---

1) Red, or gilded.



## LIST OF THE SLAIN.

*Barons and Knight Bannerets.*

Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester,  
Robert de Clifford.

Payan Tybetot,

William Le Mareschal,

John Comyn,

William de Vescey,

John de Montfort,

Nicolas de Hasteleigh,

William Dayncourt,

Aegidius de Argenteyne,

Edmond Comyn,

John Lovel, (the rich)

Edmund de Hastynge,

Milo de Stapleton,

Simon Ward,

Robert de Felton,

Michael Poyning,

Edmund Maulley.

*Knights.*

Henry de Boun,

Thomas de Ufford,



John de Elsingfelde ,  
John de Harcourt ,  
Walter de Hakelut ,  
Philip de Courtenay ,  
Hugo de Scales ,  
Radulph de Beauchamp ,  
John de Penbrigge ,  
With thirty-three others of the same rank,  
not named.

## PRISONERS.

*Barons and Baronets.*

Henry de Boun, Earl of Hereford ,  
Lord John Giffard ,  
William de Latimer ,  
Maurice de Berkley ,  
Ingelram de Umfraville ,  
Marmaduke de Twenge ,  
John de Wyletone ,  
Robert de Maulee ,  
Henry Fitz-Hugh ,  
Thomas de Gray ,  
Walter de Beauchamp ,  
Richard de Charon ,  
John de Wevelmton ,



Robert de Nevil,  
John de Segrave,  
Gilbert Peeche,  
John de Clavering,  
Antony de Lucy,  
Radulph de Camys,  
John de Evere,  
Andrew de Abremhyn.

*Knights.*

Thomas de Berkeley,  
The son of Roger Tyrrel,  
Anselm de Mareschal,  
Giles de Beauchamp,  
John de Cyfrewast,  
John Bluwet,  
Roger Corbet,  
Gilbert de Boun,  
Bartholomew de Enefeld,  
Thomas de Ferrers,  
Radulph and Thomas Bottetort,  
John and Nicolas de Kingstone, (brothers,)  
William Lovel,  
Henry de Wileton,  
Baldwin de Frevill,



John de Clivedon, <sup>1)</sup>  
Adomar la Zouche,  
John de Merewode,  
John Maufe, <sup>2)</sup>  
Thomas and Odo Lele Ercedekene,  
Robert Beaupel, (the son,)  
John Mautravers, (the son,)  
William and William Giffard, and thirty-  
four other knights, not named by the  
historian.

And in sum, there were there slain, along with the Earl of Gloucester, forty-two barons and bannerets. The number of earls, barons, and bannerets made captive, was twenty-two, and sixty-eight knights. Many clerks and esquires were also there slain or taken. Roger de Northburge, keeper of the king's signet, (*Custos Targiae Domini Regis*,) was made prisoner with his two clerks, Roger de Wakenfelde and Thomas de Switon, upon which the king caused a seal to be made, and entitled it his privy seal, to distinguish the same from the signet so lost. The

---

<sup>1)</sup> Supposed Clinton.

<sup>2)</sup> Maule.



Earl of Hereford was exchanged against Bruce's queen, who had been detained in captivity ever since the year 1306. The Targia, or signet, was restored to England through the intercession of Ralph de Monthermer, ancestor of Lord Moira, who is said to have found favour in the eyes of the Scottish king. — Continuation of TRIVET's Annals, Hall's edit. Oxford, 1712, vol. II. p. 14.

Such were the immediate consequences of the field of Bannockburn. Its more remote effects, in completely establishing the national independence of Scotland, afford a boundless field for speculation.

THE END.











POCKET EDITION  
OF  
ENGLISH CLASSICS.

VOL. XXV.

---

ZWICKAU,  
PRINTED FOR BROTHERS SCHUMANN.

1821.



# To the public.

*A pocket Edition of the most celebrated works of the classical authors of England, France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, has long been wished for, by men of taste, and education, in all ranks of society; it will especially be agreeable to travellers, students and young merchants.*

*The selection which we intend to publish, will consist of a choice of the writings of the most celebrated modern authors.*

*The publishers have reason to believe, that from the accuracy of the text, the neatness of form, the beauty of the typography and paper (on which no expence has been spared) that they can with certainty flatter themselves, upon a favourable acceptation from the public. The present volume is offered as a specimen of the following, which will be exactly the same in form etc. in every respect.*

*The Authors from whose productions, only what is acknowledged as the very best, will be inserted in the present edition, and will be printed in the following chronological order:*

**ENGLISH:** Ossian, Chaucer, Shakspeare, Spenser, Beaumont, Fletcher, Baco, Butler, Milton, Dryden, Locke, Addison, Swift, Young, Pope, Thomson, Sterne, Smollet, Ferguson, Prior, Gray, Gay, Chesterfield, Littleton, Glower, Goldsmith, Bloomfield, Bolingbroke, Shaftsbury, Sheridan, Johnson, Gibbon, Robertson, Richardson, Byron, Campbell, Scott etc.



**FRENCH:** The Troubadours, Marot, Rabelais, Montaigne, Malherbe, Pascal, Corneille, Molière, Lafontaine, Racine, Sevigné, Labruyère, Boileau, Fontenelle, Fénelon, Rousseau, Grécourt, Voltaire, Massillon, Destouches, Montesquieu, Helvétius, Bernard, Crébillon, Gresset, Diderot, Imbert, Bonnet; Condorcet, Florian, Bernis, Marmontel, Delille, Poufflews, Parny, Chénier, Pigault-le-Brun, Lebrun, Biron, Rénouard, Picard, Mirabeau, Chateaubriand, Staël-Holstein, de Ligne etc.

**ITALIAN:** Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Berni, Ariosto, Bembo, T. Tasso, Guarini, Tassoni, Fortiguerra, Gozzi, Alfieri, Zeno, Rolli, Maffei, Goldoni, Metastasio, Algarotti, Casti etc.

**SPANISH and PORTUGUESE:** Garcilasso de la Vega, Camöens, L. de Leon, Cervantes, Lope di Vega, Calderon, Yriarte, Moratin etc.

---

Each volume will contain about 200 pages, and a biography of the Author, or critical dissertations of the contents. To each will be prefixed an embellishment, which will principally consist of a portrait of the Author. Until the completion of the whole a prenumeration will exist, viz. for a volume in boards, 9, and if in sheets 8 gr. Each volume can be had separately from every respectable Bookseller. To those who purchase from us direct a number of copies, a reasonable discount will be allowed.

**ZWICKAU** in Saxony, 1821.

**BROTHERS SCHUMANN.**



THE  
WORKS  
OF  
WALTER SCOTT.

VOL. IX.



Scott, Walter, 1771-1832

The Works of Walter Scott, Esq

Bd.: 9

Zwickau 1821

P.o.angl. 358 f-8/9

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10748843-0